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**Please affix the following slip facing Page 216, Vol. IV. Parts 3 & 4.**

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**CORRECTIONS, VOL. V. PART I.**

*Read* A. Sankarao, B.A., L.T., for S. Bhimasankara Rao B.A.  
in the list of *Members of Council*, for 1930-31.

**Omit the last three lines on page 40.**



# JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

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[Part 1.



*Amaravat: Sculpture depicting a Stupa*

1930

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# JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Vol. V.

July, 1930.

Part I.

## THE "BHUJABALA" OF VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY, (A. D. 1516).

B. A. SALETORE, M.A.: LONDON.

One of the inscriptions edited by Mr. Rice in the "*Epigraphia Carnatica*" is the following styled "Mg. 41" dated 1516 A. D.:—"The usual invocation. (On the date specified) When the *Mahārājādhirāja Rāja paramēśvara* Vīra Krishṇa Rāya Mahārāja was ruling the kingdom of the world in peace and wisdom—And Immaḍi Bhairasa Oḍeyar, son of Bommala Dēvi, and son-in-law of the Cattle-rope-to Champions over hostile kings, Vira Miriya Bhirasa Oḍeya, was governing the Kaḷaśa-Kārkaḷa kingdom the mighty (*bhujabala*) Mahārāja of Vijayanagara having come against the Tuḷu kingdom with an army, and having encamped on the Bhūvana channel of Marḡalū;—we having escaped from the country made a petition (or vow) that if that army should go back, and we should return in peace to our country, we should repair the temple of the god, Kaḷaśanātha. And that army having gone back, at the time when we returned in peace to our country, causing the temple of the god Kaḷaśanātha to be repaired through the wiseman of our *Chāvaḍi* Sūrappadēnabōva to provide for the dropping of water for one month on the god Kaḷaśanātha in our name, to be continued as long as the sun and moon endure." (Here the details of the gift etc.)<sup>1</sup>

The late Mr. Krishṇa Śāstri while editing an inscription of the Bhairasa Oḍeyar of Kārkaḷa, remarked on the above epigraph thus:—"This inscription supplies the interesting information that, during the reign of the great Krishṇa Rāya of Vijayanagara, Bhujabala Mahārāja led a campaign against the Tuḷu-rājya, and was encamped near the

Bhuvana Śāle in Mangalūru. On this occasion the Kaṣāśa Kārkaṣa chief Yimmaḍḍa Bhairasa Oḍeya being dispossessed of (or not being sure of the stability of) his territory, prayed to the god at Kaṣāśa that the invading forces might leave the Tuḷu country and that he might be undisturbed in his kingdom. This desire being fulfilled, he made certain gifts to that god in his capacity as the ruler of the Kaṣāśa-Kārkaṣa rājya. • Bhujabalamahārāya, who led the campaign, might be identified with Krishṇarāya's elder brother 'Busbarao' mentioned on p. 110 of Mr. Sewell's '*Forgotten Empire*'. The facts recorded in the inscription show that the Kaṣāśa-Kārkaṣa chiefs, who, as already noted, were trying to get independent of the Vijayanagara kings, and had, perhaps, also an idea of extending their dominions below the ghats, were now threatened to be dispossessed, but perhaps, on promise of submission were left unmolested."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Sewell, who at one time, had declared the impossibility of identifying the "Bhujabala" of the inscriptions with the "Busbalrao" mentioned by Nuniz,<sup>3</sup> rectified the error made by Mr. Śāstri in these words. "There seems to be a mistake here. Firstly, I note that Mr. Rice does not consider the word Bhujabala in the passage in question to be a proper name. The passage runs. '*Vijayanagarada Bhujabala mahārāyaru Tuḷu-rajyada-mīle daṇḍu*,' and is translated by Mr. Rice thus: 'The mighty (*bhujabala*) Mahārāya of Vijayanagara having come against the Tuḷu kingdom with an army.' Here there is no ruler or leader named Bhujabala. Secondly the leader of the army could only have been Nuniz's 'Busbalrao', elder brother of Krishṇadevarāya, if the date of this expedition to the Tuḷu country were referred to a period at least seven years earlier than the date of the inscription; because 'Busbalrao' had died when Krishṇa Dēva Rāya was placed on the throne in A.D. 1509. It is possible that the expedition did take place before Krishṇadeva's accession, and it is equally possible that it may allude to Krishṇa Dēva Rāya's own exploit shortly after he came to the throne, when he, or his generals, reduced the Ganga Rāya of Ummatūr in Mysore. The mention in "Mg. 41" of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya's supreme sovereignty over the Kaṣāśa country during the chieftainship of Immaḍḍi Bhairasa Oḍeyar gives us no clue to the date of the Vijayanagara army's march to Mangalūr, for this may have taken place at any period before the date of that chief's grant, or, Sunday, July 13th, A.D. 1516. But what is quite certain is that the leader of the army referred to could not have been Krishṇa Dēva Rāya's elder brother, whom Nuniz called 'Busbalrao', during, as stated by Mr. Krishṇa Śāstri, the reign of Krishṇarāya; for it was 'Busbalrao's' death, according to Nuniz, that placed Krishṇa Dēva on the throne.

<sup>2</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VIII, p. 127, note (2)  
Sewell, *Forgotten Empire* p. 180

At the date of the grant *Kṛishṇa Dēva* was conducting his decisive campaign in the east, and had captured *Koṇḍavīdu* three weeks earlier viz., June 23rd, A.D. 1516.<sup>4</sup>

While this explanation by Mr. Sewell settles the question of the impossibility of identifying the "Bhujabala" of the inscription with the elder brother of *Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya* during the life time of the latter, it does not, I am afraid, determine finally whether or not one may refer the surname "Bhujabala" in the inscription to *Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya* or to one of his generals; and it does not explain whether the epigraph records an event that took place in 1516 A.D. or earlier, as Mr. Sewell would have it. The first difficulty in the solution of this question centres round the name 'Bhujabala'. Dr. Hultzsck added a note to the remarks made on this name by Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, to this effect—"Perhaps the name is connected with *Bhujabala*, a surname of the Hoysalas."<sup>5</sup>

That this was not so, and that it was a little common amongst almost all Hindu monarchs from the times of the *Sāntāras* down to the last days of Vijayanagara will be made out from the following Table

DYNASTY.	RULER.	YEAR.	REFERENCE.
<i>Sāntāra</i> .	<i>Bhujabala Sāntāra</i> .	A.D. 1066.	<i>EC.</i> VIII, Nr. 59, p. 154 Nr. 38 p 143; Nr. 35, p. 135
"	<i>Bhujabala</i> <i>Vīra Śānta Dēva</i> .	A.D. 1157.	<i>EC.</i> VI, Kp. 14, p. 78.
<i>Kaḷachuriya</i> .	<i>Bhujabala Chakravarti Bijjala Dēva</i> .	(?) A. D. 1160	<i>EC.</i> VIII, Sl. 346, p. 61
<i>Sinda</i> .	<i>Bhujabala Bhīma</i> <i>Vīra Bijjana Dēva</i> .	7th year, <i>Vijaya</i> .	No. 110 A of Suppl. to the <i>Ep. R. p. S. circ.</i> for 1927.
<i>Kaḷachuriya</i> .	<i>Bhujabala Chakravarti Tribhuvanamalla Bijjala Dēva</i> .	A.D. 1162.	<i>EC.</i> VII, Sk. 112, p. 71.
"	<i>Bhujabala Chakravarti Rāyamurāri</i> <i>Sōvi I ēva</i> .	A.D. 1170(?)	<i>EC.</i> VII Sk. 171, p. 112
<i>Ganga</i> .	<i>Bhujabala Ganga</i> <i>Perumādī I ēva</i> .	A.D. 1105.	<i>EC.</i> VII, Sk. 4 p. 8.
"	"	A.D. 1112.	<i>EC.</i> VII, Sh. 64, p. 25.
<i>Ganga</i> .	<i>Bhujabala Ganga</i> .	1245 A.D.(?)	<i>EC.</i> VII Sh. 87, p. 34.
"	<i>Tribhuvanamalla</i> <i>Bhujabala Ganga</i> <i>Perumādī I ēva</i> .	A.D. 1113.	<i>EC.</i> VIII, Sh. 97, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Sewell, *Ep. Ind.* vol IX, p. 174

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Ind.* vol VII, p. 79

Yādava.	Bhujabala Chakravarti Singhaṇa Dēva	A.D. 1230 - 31	No. 200 of Suppl. to the <i>Ep. Report S. Circle</i> 1927.
„	Bhujabala Pratāpa Chakravarti Simhaṇa Dēva.	A.D. 1243.	<i>EC.</i> VIII, Sb. 217, p. 37.
„	Bhujabala Pratāpa Chakravarti Khan-dhāra Dēva.	A.D. 1248.	<i>EC.</i> VII Sr. 217 p. 130.
„	Bhujabala Rāmachandra.	A.D. 1283.	<i>EC.</i> VIII Sb. 189, p. 30.
„	Yādavanārāyaṇa Bhujabala Prādīha Pratāpa Chakravarti Vīra Rāmachandra.	10th year.	No. 205 of <i>Ep. Report for the S. Circle</i> for 1918.
Hoysala.	The mighty Vishṇu named Bhujabala Ganga.	A.D. 1117.	<i>EC.</i> V, Bl. 71, p. 60.
„	„	A.D. 1120.	<i>EC.</i> Bl. 147, p. 94.
„	Bhujabala Vīra Somēśvara.	A.D. 1279.	<i>EC.</i> VI, Tk. 9, p. 104.
Vijayanagara. (Sāluva)	Bhujabalarāya Vīra Pratāpa Sāluva (Narasinga Dēva, father of Tammaya Dēva Mahārāya.)	Śaka 1421. (= A.D. 1499 - 1500)	No. 25 of 1918.
„	Narasinga Bhujabalarāya Danmārāya.	Śaka 1424 (= A.D. 1502-3)	No. 47 of 1916.
„	Kumāra Vīra Narasimha Bhujabala Vasantarāya.	Śaka 1437 (= A.D. 1508-9)	No. 408 of 1913.
„	Vīra Bhujabala Krishṇadēvarāya.	A.D. 1524.	<i>EC.</i> IX, Ma. 82 p. 61.
„	(Prince Tirumala is called the son of) Bhujabala Vīra Pratāpa Krishṇa Dēvarāya.	Śaka 1446 = A.D. 1524-5	<i>Ep. Report.</i> for 1918 p. 167.
Araviḍu.	Bhujabala Dēva Ranga II. Bhujabalarāya, an officer of Haṇḍeya Nāyaka.	Śaka 1503 = A.D. 1581-2	No. 323 of 1923; <i>Ep. Rept.</i> for 1923, p. 115.
		Svabhānu, Māgha, Śu. 1,	No. 445 of 1920.

Āraṇṇiḍu.	Bhujapratāpa	Dhātu, Kārt-	Ep. Rept. for 1915, p. 109.
	Basavappa	tika, Śū. 5	
	Oḍeya,—the Bhujapratāpa of Krishṇa		
	Dēvarāya		

The "Bhujabala" referred to in "Mg.41" cannot be identified with any of the names given in the above list. Mr. Sewell's explanation that it may refer to Krishṇa Dēva's "own exploit shortly after he came to the throne." cannot be accepted, when we have examined the internal evidence as given in "Mg.42", and the history of the conquests of Krishṇa Dēva. There is nothing in the inscription which suggests that "Bhujabala" was the name of Krishṇa Dēva or that he came to Tuluva in 1516 A.D. or earlier; but the epigraph clearly indicates the name of one of his generals. In the original we have Śrīmatu Śrīman mahārājū lhirāja Rājaparam śvara Śrī Vīra Krishṇa Rāya Mahārāyaru Sukha-sankathāvinodadim-prithvirājyamgey-uttihalli."6 From this it is evident that the emperor was "ruling the kingdom of the world" (i.e., was probably in the capital), and was not conducting a campaign. If the engraver wanted to convey the idea of the emperor's presence in Tuluva, some such expression like the following would have been used:—"when that Krishṇa Rāya Mahārāya was in the camp (biḍu) of —"7 The reference to one of his generals is stated in these words—"Vijayanagarada Bhujabala Mahārāya Tuluṛāyada mēle daṇḍu kaṇḍu."8 It is this General with whose identification we are for the present concerned. We cannot agree with Mr. Sewell, who places the event mentioned in "Mg.41" in the early years of Krishṇadēva's reign, when that monarch was engaged in the subjugation of the Ummatur chieftains, even according to Mr. Sewell's own estimate. For we are told by him the following—"We learn from other sources that about this time (i.e., A.D. 1510) Krishṇadēvarāya was engaged with a refractory vassal in the Maisūr country, the Ganga Rājah of Ummatur, and was completely successful."9 If Krishṇadēva conquered the Ganga Rājah in 1510 A.D., he would not have taken six years—the date of the inscription "Mg.31" is 1516 A.D.—to cross the Maisūr territory in order to punish another refractory chieftain in Tuluva. Nor would the latter commemorate in A.D. 1516 an event that had taken place six years earlier! The fact is, there is nothing for us to suspect that the event mentioned in "Mg.41" had taken place prior to A.D. 1516. As Mr. Sewell relates Krishṇadēvarāya was away in the east in or about A.D. 1516, although inscriptions of the same date give us the information that the great ruler was for a brief space of time in the capital in the course of

6 E.C. VI, M9.41 o. o. p. 261 (Text)

7 E.C. VIII, Sb. 27a, p. 249.

8 E.C. VI, Mg.41 op.cit

9 Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, p. 130

Yādava.	Bhujabala Chakravarti Singhaṇa Dēva	A.D. 1230 - 31	No. 200 of Suppl. to the <i>Ep. Report S. Circle</i> 1927.
"	Bhujabala Pratāpa Chakravarti Simhaṇa Dēva.	A.D. 1243.	<i>EC.</i> VIII, Sb. 217, p. 37.
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6 E.C. VI, M9.41 o. o. p. 261 (Text)

7 E.C. VIII, Sb. 278, p. 249.

8 E.C. VI, Mg.41 op.cit

9 Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, p. 130



his famous campaigns. From the inscription at Śrīśailam dated Śaka 1483, Yūva, Śrāvana; Śu. di. 15, Wednesday ( July 25th, Wednesday A.D. 1515),<sup>10</sup> we learn that Krishṇadēvarāya after bestowing gifts at Amarāvati. came to Śrī Parvatam and had mandapas constructed in the car street. According to the inscription at Ahōbālam dated Śaka 1438, Yūva, Pushya Śu. di. 15. Friday ( December 21st Friday, A. D. 1515)<sup>11</sup> the king on his second campaign visited Ahobalam, and presented the god with great gifts. Did Krishṇadēvarāya in the short interval between his first and second campaign, when he was in the capital, think of leading an army into 'Tūluva'? This seems most unlikely when we realise two facts—the position of the petty Tūluva chieftain Immaḍi Bhairasa Oḍeyar, and the nature of the second campaign of Krishṇadēva. It is was in the course of this great war in 1515-6 A.D. that he subjugated Kōṭṭiṅga, Bezwāda, the Mahāpātrā rulers, stormed the forts of Anantagiri, Undrakonda, Aruvapalli, Jallipalli, Kandikonda, Kappaluvāyi, Nallakonda, Kanimbamettu, Kanakagiri, Sankagiri, and other fortresses, and marched into the heart of the Kalinga country where at Poṭṇūru he planted a pillar of victory.<sup>12</sup> In the Śaka year 1438 Dhātū (A. D. 1516, April) he returned from his northern victories and built the northern gōpuram of the Chidambaram Temple.<sup>13</sup> A monarch who had thus won at the point of his sword the eastern regions, would not have thought it worth while to march against an insignificant and faint hearted ruler of Tūluva who, fleeing from his country, sought shelter under the ægis of his tutelary god. The 'Bhujabala' therefore, has to be referred to as a leader of Krisanadevarāya—a general who about A.D. 1515 must have been near-about Tūluva. We cannot identify him with any officer of Hāḍḍyanāyaka because we have no evidence till now that this latter chief had anything to do with Tūluva. On the other hand, we may identify him with a general of the Vijayanagara emperor, whose surname was Bhujabala, and who was sent by his master to the Western Ghats in A.D. 1515. Such a person who satisfies all conditions is Māde nāyaka. In A.D. 1515 Māde nāyaka was on the Western Ghats. An inscription of that date informs us that Krishna Rāya's Bhujabala-pratāpa Māde-nāyaka, for the lord of Puri, (his praise) the god Sōmēśvara of Pura, with unflattering devotion," bestowed the village of Pura in the Veleiyuru-sthāla.<sup>14</sup> We confess that we do not know the causes which brought Mādenāyaka to Pura. But there cannot be a doubt that it was this same "Krishṇarāya's Bhujabala "Mādenāyaka who is mentioned as "the Bhujabala of Vijayanagara" in 1516 A.D. when he frightened the Kaṭāśa-Kārkaṭa ruler into subjection by encamping on the Bhuvana-channel of Mangalūru.

10 Ep No 18 of 1915. Swamikannu Pillai, *The Indian Ephemeris*, V p. 233

11 Ep No. 94 of 1915 *Ep Report* for 1915, p. 109, Swamikannu V, *Ibid*.

12 Ep. Report for 1920, p. 112-113

13 Ep. Report for 1914, p. 98 A.S. R. for 1908-9, p. 181

14 E.C. XII, Kg. 25 p. 36. This inscription was found in a field in the grama of Hōsūru. Kunigal Taluk,

## STUDIES IN VIJAYANAGARA POLITY.

K. ISVARA DUTT, B.A.  
(Local Fund Audit Department.)

Continued from page 188 of IV above.

There are also many pearls and seed-pearls to be found there, which are brought from Ormuz and Cael—also silk brocades, scarlet cloth and coral.”<sup>7</sup> Bhatkal was a great seaport during that time, on the west coast, known for its exports of iron, spices, drugs, myrabolams and import of horses and pearls. After the Portuguese occupation of Goa horses and pearls were being imported through that port.<sup>8</sup>

Paes says, that ‘The kingdom has many places on the coast of India; they are sea-ports with which we are at peace and in some of them we have factories namely Amcola, Mirgeo, Honor, Batecalla, Mangalore, Bracelor and Bacanor.”<sup>9</sup> Thus we find that extensive over-sea trade was carried on during that time.

About seaborne trade during the time of Bukkaraya and Hariharāya II, we have a graphic account of the same in the *Haravilasam* of poet Śrinātha who dedicated it to the merchant prince Avachi Tippayya Setṭi of Kānchīpura. This merchant prince and his brothers Tirumalasetṭi and Chānīsetṭi were by appointment supplying to the courts of Hariharāya, Kumārāgiri of Kondavīdu, Ferozshah and Gajapati, precious articles required by them. He imported camphor plants from the Punjab, gold (plate or dust) from Jālanogī, elephants from Simhaladvīpa (Ceylon), fine horses from Hurumāṭṭi (Ormuz), pure musk from Goa, pearls from Āpaga (Sea,) musk (*kaṣṭurikāṭṭankam*) from Chōṭṭangi and fine silks from China,<sup>10</sup> During the time of Devarāya II, according to an epigraph we learn about Mōṭṭupalli the port flourishing on the east coast and the import duties levied on the various articles that were imported.<sup>11</sup> We also know from

7 *Forgotten Empire* p 129 8 *Ibid* p 128 9 *Ibid* p 237

10 Śrināthas's *Haravilasam Canto I*

11 *Ins of the Madh Prsy.* vol. II Ongole 111 A

“స్వస్తిశ్రీ శకవరుష.బులు ౧౩౧౨ అగు నేటి దుర్ముఖినంపల్లెన ర్ మాఘశుద్ధ ౧ శుక్ర  
నానిము. స్వస్తిశ్రీ మన్మహాధిరాజ రాజపరమేశ్వర చతుస్సనుద్రాధీశ్వర హరిహరరాయకు  
మార దేవరాయ పిడయలు మోటుపల్లికియిచ్చిన ధర్మశాసనము: వోడదిగిన సరకులకు సుంకాలు  
మోటుపల్లిపట్టణ మయ్యాదలు ఎప్పటికి ఎన్నిసరకులుదిగిన అయిదురెళ్ళు అయింపనీడికవ్వడి.  
చిగుమతిసరకులకు గరికవకటి.టికి యెనిమిది సుంకములు రాజకరుకు ఆరువల్లులు. యేబది పగ

*Amuktamālyada* that elephants were imported from Ceylon and horses from Persia.<sup>12</sup>

It is interesting to note the precepts laid down by Krishnarāya were to be followed by him towards the treatment of foreign merchants and their imports. The king should see that the imports in horses, elephants, diamonds, sandalwood, and pearls etc. are encouraged and commerce developed thereby. The foreigners who land in the territory, on account of famine, disease and exhaustion, should be sent to see mines, cattle, and gardens in the empire. Those who deal in elephants and horses, should be lodged in good houses in the Capital, allowed the audience of the king always, and be given presents. The King should see that the elephants and horses imported were not to be allowed to reach the hands of the enemy through them; the merchants should be treated as his own friends so that they may not do so.<sup>13</sup>

#### A Commercial Treaty of A. D. 1546.

A commercial treaty between the Portuguese and the Vijayanagar Emperor Sadashivārāya was executed on 26th February 1546. Rev. Heras in his monumental work on the *Aravīdu* Dynasty, quotes the clauses of this treaty in full.<sup>14</sup> The main clauses are quoted below:—

1 'The Governor of Goa will allow Arab and Persian Horses landed at Goa to be purchased by the King or Vijayanagar, none being permitted to be sent to Bijapur nor to any of its ports, and the King of Vijayanagar will be bound to purchase all those that were brought to his ports on quick and proper payment.

2 'The King of Vijayanagar will compel all the merchants in his kingdom trading with the coasts to send their goods through Onor (Honavar) and Barcelor (Barsur), wherein the King of Portugal, will send factors who will purchase them all and the Governors of India will be forced to send the Portuguese merchants there in order to buy them. On the same way, the King of Vijayanagar will forbid the exportation of iron and saltpetre with the kingdom of Adilshah from any port or town of his own, and the merchants will be compelled to bring this merchandise to the harbours of the kingdom of Vijayanagar where they will be quickly purchased by the Governor of India not to cause them loss.

దాకట్టకు అయిదురూకలున్న అడ్డీ. పడమట ... .. ల్కు తావులు నేయించే హరికి నోవుమిద వెలచేసి యెనిమిదిచేసి తరుగు నూటికి రూకను పెట్టి అరూలకు జా. పదిటికి ఒక్కటి. ముద్రసరుకునకు రెండు కానులు, పొట్టుర వెల్లపచ్చదాకకున్న ఈమర్యాదను. పన్నుచీరకు సారూపానకు నాలుగు కానులు కయికాలచీరకు సారూపానకు కాను. రొక్కము రాచవారుకొని అందు నూడవపాలు దేవరాజవొడయులు బడయుదురు!<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Amuktamālyada*, Canto II vv 1 & 20

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid* Canto IV vv 245 and 258

<sup>14</sup> Heras; *Aravīdu* Dynasty; and *Forgotten Empire* p 62 and 186

3 'All the cloths of the kingdom of Vijayanagar will not be brought over to the port of Adilshah, but either to Ancola or to Onor (Hanovar) and in the same way the Governors will find the Portuguese merchants to go there to purchase them and to exchange them for Copper, Coral, Vermilion, Mercury, China-silks and all other kinds of goods which came from the kingdom, and he the King of Vijayanagar will order his merchants to purchase them.'

This treaty, throws a flood of light not only on internal and external commerce of the day, but also on the perpetual animosities that existed between the banner of the Boar and the Crescent. Suffice to say such commercial boycott, together with the haughty and arrogant policy of the Regent of the day, made the Mohommadan to rally finally under one banner and understand the old adage "United we stand; divided we fall." The dis-intergration of the empire, tolled the death-knell of the Portuguese trade. The extracts quoted by Sewell in his history of the *Forgotten Empire*, from the writings left by the Portuguese, testify to the fact. To quote one. "By this destruction of the Kingdom of Bisnaga, India and our state were much shaken; for the bulk of the trade undertaken by all was for this kingdom, to which they carried horses, velvets, satins and other sorts of merchandise, by which they made great profits; and the custom house of Goa suffered much in its revenue, so that from that date till now the inhabitants of Goa began to live less well; for faizes and fine cloths were a trade of great importance for Persia and Portugal, and it then languished and the gold pagodas, of which every year more than 500,000 were laden in the ships of the kingdom, were then worth  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *Tungas*, and today they are worth  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and similarly every kind of coin."<sup>15</sup>

## VI

### THE MILITARY ORGANISATION AND EXPENDITURE.

The military expenditure of the period was enormous and practically consumed the major portion of either the public exchequer or that of the viceroy's treasury. We had already an occasion to mention, when dealing with the Viceroys of the Vijayanagar Empire, that the Provincial Satraps had to maintain a fixed army of infantry, cavalry, and elephants according to the income derived by them, to preserve peace and order, and to assist the Emperor during his campaigns.

The military of the day consisted of "infantry, cavalry and the force of Elephants.<sup>1</sup> According to Paes. "Now I desire you to know that this

<sup>15</sup> *Forgotten Empire* pp. 210—211.

1. *Amuktamalyada*, Canto IV. 232; 233.

"King has continuously a milion fighting troops in which are included 55,000 cavalry in armour; all these are in his pay and he has these troops always together and ready to be despatched to any quarter whenever such may be necessary. I said, being in the city of Bisnaga, the king despatching a force against a place, one of which he has by the sea coast, and he sent fifty captains with 1,50,000 Soldiers, amongst whom there were many cavalry. He has many elephants and when the king wishes to show the strength of his power amongst the three kings bordering on the kingdom, they say that he puts into the field two million soldiers; in consequence of which he is the most feared of kings of any in these parts."<sup>2</sup> There can be no exaggeration in this, Nuniz states that a force of 703,000 foot, 82,600 horses and 551 elephants was mobilised when Krishnarāya marched against Raichur<sup>3</sup> Abdur Razak<sup>4</sup> states that the army consisted of eleven lacs of men (11,00,000). Yet another Traveller estimated the figure of the army at about a million men and upwards.<sup>5</sup>

#### Personal Retinue of the King.

Nuniz states, that beside the large army that was maintained for the defence of the kingdom, the king has continually fifty thousand paid soldiers amongst whom are six thousand horsemen who belong to the Palace Guard, to which six thousand belong the two hundred, who are obliged to ride with him. He has also twenty thousand spearmen and shield bearers and three thousand men to look after the elephants and stables.

#### Military Expenditure.

Abdur Razack informs that the payment to the troops was made every four months.<sup>7</sup> The maintenance of elephants and horses, certainly entailed a heavy expenditure. "He has sixteen hundred grooms who attended the horses and has also three hundred horse trainers, and two thousand artificers viz.. blacksmiths, masons and carpenters and washermen who wash clothes. These are the people he has and pays every day; he gives them their allowance at the gate of the Palace. To the six thousand horsemen, the King gives houses free and gives provision for them every month and all these horses are marked with the King's mark.<sup>8</sup> Peas also comments "how great expenses may be, and besides these that of the servants who have the care of the horses, and elephants, and by this you

2. *Forgotten Empire* p. 230.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

4. *Elliot's History of India*, vol. IV. pp. 107.

5. *Forgotten Empire* page 148. An account of Krishnarāya's campaigns is given in *Rayavachakamu* where the vast armies led by the Emperor are described.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 381.

7. *Elliot's History of India*, vol IV p. 105—125

8. *Forgotten Empire*, p. 381.

will be able to judge what will be the revenue of the City.<sup>9</sup> Krishṇa-dēvarāya lays down the maxim that the King should divide his income into four parts and two parts of the same should be spent for the defence of the Kingdom, i.e., of the army.<sup>10</sup> That means more than 50% of the Public exchequer was spent on the maintenance of the military force.

#### Artillery.

Paes mentions that among the troops, he witnessed, he had seen "musqueteers with their musquets and blunderbrusses<sup>11</sup> and describes how "the valleys and all the ground trembled with the discharges of arms and musquets; and to see the bombs and fire missiles over the plains.<sup>12</sup> In the battle of Raichur cannons were used by Krishṇarāya.<sup>13</sup>

#### Cavalry.

During the time of Krishṇarāya, and efficient cavalry was maintained which gained for its master victories over many a field of battle. The Emperor-Poet in his Peom "*Amuktamālyada*" describes how he won victories against the troops of Adil Khan with the assistance of his cavalry alone.<sup>14</sup> The horses for the cavalry, were purchased, from the Portugese who settled at that time on the West Coast and from the Arab merchants who traded with the Vijayanagar City at that time. Krishṇarāya describes the horses that are born in and purchased from the countries of Bāhlika; Pāraśika Śaka; Dhāra and Arattī countries. They are so high that the rider cannot sit on their back without the help of two Anka-Vanni but when they run with the bodies stretched they will be so short that the feet of the rider touch the ground.<sup>15</sup> Nuniz states "that the King buys twelve, thirteen thousand horses of Ormuz and country-breds of which he chooses the best for his own stables and gives the rest to his Captains and gains much money by them; because after taking out good Persian horses, he sells those which are country-bred and gives five for a thousand Paradas, and they are obliged to pay him the money for them in the month of September; and with the money so obtained, he pays for the Arabs, that he buys of the Portugese, in such a way that his captains pay the cost of the whole without anything going out of the Treasury".<sup>16</sup>

The accession of Krishṇarāya to the throne synchronised with the advent of the Portugese on the west coast. The Portugese Governor Albuquerque conquered, Goa on the west coast in March A. D. 1510 and

9 *Ibid.*, p. 281

10 *Amuktamālyada*, Canto IV v, 238

11 *Forgotten Empire*, p. 279

12 *Ibid* p. 279

13 *Ibid* p. 342

14 Canto 1, Stanza 42

15 Canto 2, Verse 29

16 *Forgotten Empire*, pages 381-82

after some vicissitudes of fortune, firmly established his power there at the end of the same year. Krishnarāya did not take much notice of the advent of this European power on the west coast, as he might have thought, that it would not cause to be any menace to his empire. The Portuguese were fortunate enough to secure some important concessions at his hands and to be allowed to build a fort at Bhatkal. The emperor was anxious to secure fine horses from them, for his perpetual wars against the Mohammadan for Adil Shah, who in turn also in vain approached the Portuguese for the supply of horses for the wars he waged against the Vijayanagar Emperors. At one time, the Emperor offered Albuquerque £. 20,000 for the exclusive right to trade in horses but the latter did not accede to the request of the monarch. However Albuquerque promised that he would give to the Emperor the right of "refusal of all his horses if he would pay him 30,000 *cruzado* per annum for the supply, and send his own servants to Goa to fetch away the animals and also that he would aid the king in his war if he was paid the expense of his troops.<sup>17</sup>

#### Description of the Cavalry by Paes.

Paes was an eye witness of the splendour of the cavalry of the day. He describes the riders and the horses vividly in the following terms. "The cavalry were mounted on horses fully caparisoned and on their forehead with plates some of silver but most of them gilded, with fringes of twisted silk of all colours and reins of the same, others had trappings of Mecca velvet, which is velvet of many colours with fringes and ornaments: others had them on other silks, such as satins and damask, and others of brocade from China and Persia. Some of the men with gilded plates had them set with many large precious stones and on the borders lacework of small stones. Some of these horses had on their foreheads, heads of serpents and of other large animals of various kinds, made in such a strange manner that they were a sight to see for the perfection of their make. The horsemen were dressed in quilted tunics, also of brocade and velvet and every kind of silk. These tunics are made of layers of very strong raw leather and furnished with other iron plates that make them strong; some have these plates gilded both inside and out, and some are made of silver. Their headpieces are in the manner of helmets on the borders covering the neck and each had its piece to protect the face; they are of the same fashion as the tunics. They wear on the neck gorgets, all gilded, others made of silk with plates of gold and silver, others of steel as bright as a mirror. At the waists they have swords and small battle axes and in their hands javelins with the shafts covered with gold and silver."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid* p. 128

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid* p. 276

### Infantry.

Infantry formed the bulk of the army of the Empire and contained the best of the human blood of the day. The weapons used were arrows, battle axes, spears, swords, bombs and missiles and the infantry can therefore, be roughly divided into archers, shieldmen, and musqueteers. The description of the infantry is minutely presented to us by Paes.<sup>19</sup> To quote him again: "Shieldmen with their shields, with many flowers of gold and silver on them, others with figures of Tigers and other great beasts, others all covered with silver leafwork beautifully wrought, others with painted colours, others black so polished, that you can see into them, as into a mirror, and their swords so richly ornamented that they would not be possibly move so. Of the archers, I must tell you, that they have bows plated with gold and silver, and others have them polished and their arrows very neat and feathered that they could not be better; dagger but their waists and battle-axes with the shafts and ends of gold and silver then you see musqueteers with their musquets and blunderbusses and their thick tunics, all in their order. Then the moors .....with their javelin and Turkish bows, with many bombs and spears and fire missiles."<sup>20</sup>

The narrative of the description of the army of the day will be incomplete without that of the '*Gajabalam*' or elephant forces. Again we go to Paes for information. He says, "The elephants in the same way are covered with caparison of velvet and gold with fringes and rich clothes of many colours and with bells so that the earth resounds; and on their heads are painted faces of giants and other kinds of beasts. On the back of each one of them are three or four men dressed in their quilted tunics and armed with shields and javelins and they are arrayed as if for a fray."<sup>21</sup> Nuniz gives yet another account of the War elephants. "The war elephants go with their '*howlahs*' from which four men fight on each side of them and the elephants are completely clothed and on their tusks they have knives fastened, much ground and sharpened with which they do great harm."<sup>22</sup>

### Fortresses in the Empire.

The whole empire was studded with innumerable forts, strongly armed with garrisons to defend them when necessity arose. The forts were divided into four kinds '*Sthala Durga*', '*Jala Durga*', '*Giri Durga*' and '*Vana Durga*'.<sup>22</sup> '*Sthala Durga*' means fort built on land; '*Jala Durga*' means fort surrounded or protected by water on all sides; '*Giri Durga*'

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid* p. 277

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid* p. 327 See also the description of the Battle of Raichur p. 327

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid* p. 277

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid* p. 328.

<sup>22</sup> *Ramarajiyamu of Vēnkiah in Sources of Vijayanagar History* p. 80.

In the *Ahobilam* and the *Amaravati* Inscriptions of Sri Krishnadevaraya the names of *Sthala Durga* and *Giri Durga* are mentioned,



means fort constructed on a rock or hill and *Vana Durga* means fort in the midst of forests or protected by forest on all sides. The names of the forts that we came across both in the inscriptions and the contemporary literature are given below. The list may be pretty long, but it shows the impregnable position of the Empire when it was in its zenith.

*North Eastern Portion of the Empire.*

\*Vinukonda, Koṇḍaviḍu, Bellamkonda, Vēlupukonda, Jallipalli, Kambham-meṭu Kottam, Kanakagiri, Mādem (Madgole) Oḍḍādi, Rajahmundry, and Koṇḍapalli.

*Central Portion.*

Ganginēnikonda, Kandanōlu (Karnul), Kalumkolu, Kōṭarāchūru Raichur), Mosalimaḍugu, Yātagiri, (Yadgir) Sātanikōṭa, Gutti, Ādavani, Chandragiri, Penukonda, Gaṇḍikōṭa, Ānegondi. Mudgal, Ākulapāḍu, Vijayanagar, Dhārāpuram, Gingi, and Bonagiri, (Bhuvangiri).

*Eastern Portion.*

Kandakur and Udaigiri.

*Southern Portion.*

Ummattur, Śivsamudram, Śrīringapatnam, Madura, and Rajahmānabhiram.

*Western Portion.*

Bhaṭkal, Mangalore, and Barṇkūru.

Krishnarāya propounds his own policy towards the maintenance of the forts and its garrisons. In his view the Brahmin only should be entrusted with the charge of the forts, and that he should be put in command of sufficient of troops to withstand any formidable foe. The fort should be provided even with the proverbial cheese of the tiger and arrangements made to last at least for one hundred years.<sup>23</sup> The precept he propounded was put into practice and we already noticed elsewhere that most of his viceroys, generals and ministers hail from the Brahmin community.

## VII

### FOREIGN POLICY AND TREATMENT OF CONQUERED CHIEFS.

The foreign policy of the emperors till the time of Sadāśiva Rāya was passive and it was only during the period of the unfortunate and imbecile Emperor, that the *de-facto* ruler, Rāmarāya, the astute statesman, diverted all his political acumen and indefatigable energies through channels of intrigue and "*divide-et-impera*". The foreign policy became haughty and aggressive and the vast Empire paid the everlasting penalty for the same.

<sup>23</sup> *Amukthāmyada*, Canto vv. 207 and 261.

Slowly and silently the founders of the Empire expanded its territories without any show of thirst for land and desire for power. Bukka I., The first imperialist, as we may call him, and crown prince Kampana, had the innate ambition to expand the boundaries of the Kingdom and the result was the conquest of Chōla and Pāndya territories of the south, the rulers of which were the enemies of the Kings of Vijayanagar. The Mohammadan rule at Madura was rooted out with the ostensible object of restoring the religion and peace of the country.<sup>1</sup>

The main object of the foreign policy of the emperors seems to be to drive out the Mohammedans from the Deccan successfully, and the object was attained for three centuries. Extricated from the prison cell of the Mohammadan Emperor, the founder of the Empire, began to think of the extirpation of the power of the crescent. The Mohammadan viceroyalty at Anegundi was abolished and the two illustrious founders, and especially the younger Imperialist wanted to blandish the sword. The result was, as we had already seen the conquest of the south up to the present Madura and Trichinopoly Districts. The last trace of the Mohammadan rule in the Peninsula was thus wiped out.

It was an irony of fate, that when, the foundation was laid for the Hindu Empire in the south to resist the tide of aggression of the Mohammadans in the north, another foundation was laid, a decade later for a Mohammadan power, the Bahamani Kingdom at Kalubarige (Gulbarga) the establishment and consequent dismemberment of which, continuously affected the foreign policy of the Vijayanagar Emperors; and till the final unity of the dismembered parts of the same, dug the grave of the Empire in the South.

The bone of contention between the Bahamani Kingdom of the north and the Vijayanagar Empire in the South was the Raichur Doab a triangular piece of territory that lay between the juncture of the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers. This piece of territory, corresponding to Alsace-Lorraine of Europe, for the possession of which constantly wars were waged by the two formidable powers. The foreign policy of the Emperors upto Krishna Rāya, had always a certain bearing on the conquest of this Doab. Raichur and Mudgal were the two important forts that lay in that territory. The vanquished Mohammadan felt the humiliation of the loss, and the victorious Hindus felt the pride of the gain. But both the humiliation and the hilarity that were engendered in the breasts of the two contending parties, gradually did sow the seeds for the downfall of the Hindu Empire. The vicissitudes of future that attended the efforts at its possession, will be briefly narrated here showing only the foreign policy of the Vijayanagar.

1 *Kampanaya Charitam in Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 23

Bukka I. claimed the *Doab* from Mujahid Shah Bahamani and annexed it to his territories, but subsequently abandoned the same and agreed to receive the tribute from the successor of Mujahid. Another attempt by Bukka II. was futile and in his turn, had to pay the Sultan a large indemnity and an annual tribute. Dēvarāya II, provoked by Sultan Alauddin, invaded the Bahamani Kingdom, laid waste the territory that comprised the *doab* and conquered the two forts of Raichur and Mudgal. But the war ended with the cessation of hostilities on either side, the old boundaries were restored and the Vijayanagar King had still to pay the annual tribute.<sup>2</sup> During the time of Krishna Dēvarāya it was finally annexed to the Vijayanagar Empire after the battle of Raichur, since he wanted to finally settle the subject of contention. Robert Swell describes the political effects of the Battle of Raichur as follows:

"The Hindu victory so weakened the power and prestige of the Adil Shah that he ceased altogether to dream of any present conquest on the south and turned his attention to cementing alliances with the other Mohammadan Sovereigns, his neighbours. The victory also caused all the other Mohammadan Powers in the Deccan similarly to reflect on the political situation of the South and this had eventually led to a combination of all of them, half a century later which finally overthrew the Vijayanagar Empire and cleared the way for the south. It further effected the Hindus generally by rousing in them a spirit of pride and arrogance, which added fuel to the fire, and became positively intolerable to their neighbours, and accelerated their own downfall."<sup>3</sup>

#### **Relations with the Gajapatis.**

The Gajapatis was the second foe which, the Vijayanagar Empire had to reckon with. The expansion of the Empire in the East and North-East was hindered by the Kingdom of Kalinga which bordered on those two sides. The aggressive spirit of the King of Kalinga, was a force to be reckoned with and the safety of the Empire lay only in consolidating the same to the limits of natural boundaries i. e. on the East, the Bay of Bengal and on the north by the river Krishna ... The death of Dēvarāya II. was, unfortunately, taken advantage of by the Gajapati and the Aśvapati (Bahamani Sultan) who at once entered into a confederacy and invaded the Vijayanagar Empire. They then penetrated as far as Kānchī, in the south.

<sup>2</sup> The accounts of the Ferishta and Abdul Razack are conflicting on this point, but the latter who states that Devaraya II. was successful in the expedition may be trusted as he was at that time in the great Hindu capital.—Ed.

<sup>3</sup> *Forgotten Empire* p. 155.

In the Sanskrit Drama '*Gaṅgādāsa-pratāpavilāsam*' the joint invasion of Vijayanagar by the Sultan and the King of Kalinga, is mentioned, but it states that the invasion was bravely withstood by the Emperor Mallikārjuna. Certain epigraphs found in the South Arcot District confirm the statement of southern invasion by the King of Kalinga. The invasion was not a passing in-road but a permanent occupation of territory on the East Coast right upto the Tanjore District.<sup>4</sup> Naturally the Vijayanagar Emperors had to deal with the invader with a firm hand. The matters, stood as they were, till the advent of the great Sālūva Chief and afterwards Emperor, Sālūva Narasimha Rāya who by defeating the ruler of Kalinga regained the lost territories and added the provinces of Kondavīdu and Udaigiri to the Vijayanagar Empire<sup>5</sup> with the assistance of his Tuluva Chieftain Iśvara Narasārāya. But the two forts again changed hands during the time of Immaḍi Narasimharāya and Vīra Narasimharāya. Finally it was left to Emperor Krishnarāya to inflict signal defeats on the King of Kalinga and take his son and nobles captives in war as evidenced by the Emperor's Udaigiri and Kondavīdu Inscriptions<sup>6</sup>.

#### Treatment of the Enemy.

Except perhaps of in cases, where rebellious chiefs were killed during the course of battles waged, treatment of the enemy that actually surrendered, was generous according to the Literary and Epigraphical evidence we have got. Sōmadēvarāja who assisted the founders of the Empire in the conquest of Ānēgondi, by fighting against the its Mahomedan ruler, took the latter captive and released him after he had made obeisance. The captive prince was so pleased with his victorious foe, that he sent him a present of 6,000 horse and promised to name his own son after his ..... Captor.<sup>7</sup> Though *Kamparāyacharitam* mentions that Sāmubuarāya was killed in battle by Kamparāya,<sup>8</sup> the Telugu poem *Jaimini Bhāratam*<sup>9</sup>, and the Sanskrit poem *Sālūvābhyudayam*<sup>10</sup> mention that Sāmubuarāya was reinstated on the throne after he was captured. Krishṇa Rāya's treatment of his subdued enemies was exemplary and noteworthy. In his first victorious campaign against the Ummattur the subjugated chiefs were restored to their position after they made their obeisance.<sup>11</sup> In his treatment of prince Virabhadra Gajapati and other

4 *Ep. Rep.* 1919, Para 47

5 *Sālūvābhyudayam*. Canto iv in *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 90 and *Varahapurānam*, Canto I. vv. 30, 31.

6 *Nellore Inscriptions*, Udaigiri No. 40 and *Ep. Ind.* vol VI, pp 177—233.

7 *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 79

8 *Ibid* page 23.

9 *Ibid*, Canto I. verse 32

10 *Sālūvābhyudayam* Canto I. vv. 46—47

11 *Krishṇa Rāya Vijayam* Canto III.

Chiefs of Kalinga. Krishnapadēvarāya, had set an example not only to his successors, but also to other Emperors. They were captured alive and the prince Virabhadra was even given a principality to rule over, according to an inscription.<sup>12</sup>

• • Krishna Raya lays down incidentally in his work *Āmuktamālyada* the following precepts for guidance, towards the treatment of the subdued foes<sup>13</sup>.

- 1. The ambassadors of the hostile king should be respected, and by that means, the foe would become a friend.
2. After you have subdued your foe, do not kill him, but take his property. What can a serpent do, if its fangs are taken out? If you let him off without killing him, he will trust you for the kindness shown to him.
3. The king should ascertain by various means, the invisible foe and should deal with him severely and boldly. If he does not do so he is failing in his duty.

Then he propounds the following principles for the guidance of a king in his foreign policy.<sup>14</sup>

- 1. The friendship of a foe can be gained only by the kind treatment of his ambassadors.
2. Like the boar which sleeps on the pinnacle of a mountain with one eye opened and the other shut, the king should always have an eye on his enemies, while administering the kingdom.
3. When the king is harassed by his own party he should make friends with his enemy even by ceding him half his own kingdom, as the danger from his own party is more than that from that of snake.
4. The enemy who is afraid, of approaching the kingdom, should never be conquered by force. He should be made to move on his own accord, until he is caught, like the fish which is slowly dragged to the shore by the fisherman.
5. The king should never determine to subdue the enemy with vengeance. He should be tactful.
6. When the enemy is surrounded on all sides, by the forces, his forces should not be massacred.
7. The kingdom of the enemy and the forts that be in it may be conquered. If their women are captured, extend to them the same treatment which they would receive at their own homes. Do not talk harshly with their ambassadors.

12 *Ep. Carn.* vol, IX, D.G. 107

13 Canto IV, Verses, 225, 235 and 250

14 Canto IV Verses: 225, 241, 249, 251, 263, 264, 267 and 268.

8. If the territory of the enemy is impenetrable on account of the thick forests, mountains and full of poisonous waters, dangerous diseases, the king should not enter the same, though it fetches him fabulous wealth, but send his soldiers only to subdue the same.

#### Relations between the Empire and the Portuguese.

The arrival of the Portuguese on the West Coast, synchronised the beginning of the rule of Krishnarāya. The advent of the foreign power was little noticed by him. He might have felt confident that the mighty empire could cope with the small Christian power on the West Coast. His anxiety to secure the horses of the best breed, always swayed his policy towards the Portuguese and he maintained continuously cordial relations with them. So during the time of his successors, whose policy also was influenced by the same purpose, friendly relations continued and culminated in a commercial treaty with the Portuguese Governor.<sup>15</sup> There was a short period of clash between the two and it did not effect the mutual good-will that existed between the two powers. The general result of non interference with this small maritime power was the loss of the rich pearl fisheries on the Pandyan Coast and the gradual conversion of the people to Christianity on the West Coast.

### 4VIII

#### THE KING AND THE MINISTER.

##### The King in Vijayanagar Polity.

The Vijayanagar sovereign was at no time a blood-thirsty tyrant but a constitutional monarch who sought the counsel of a minister or a council of ministers, appointed to his Court. He was not the master of his subjects, but their servant. Emperor Krishnarāya says, 'The anointed king who is equal to God and who is created by God. ... should put up with the trouble and relieve the sufferings of the world ... So with great care and according to your power, you should attend to the work of protecting the good and punishing the wicked without neglecting anything that you see or hear ... A crowned King should always rule with an eye towards 'Dharma'. So skilfully fulfilling your 'Dharma' you get rid of your threefold debt and attain fame among your equals.<sup>1</sup> Thus the guiding policy of the monarch was the welfare of his subjects, irrespective of their religion or race. He is the protector of the oppressed and benefactor

<sup>15</sup> *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 116 and 186.

1 *Amyktamalyada*, Canto IV Verse 285

of the poor. We have already seen, the interference of the King in putting down the tyranny of his governors, reducing the taxes whenever necessary and abolishing some obnoxious ones. His anxiety to foster trade and benefit the cultivator by improving the irrigation of the soil, we have noticed on a previous occasion. The benevolent policy and the religious neutrality of the monarch, we have had no opportunity to mention hitherto, and we give some concrete instances to illustrate our point. In 1368 A. D. Bukka I. reconciled the followers of the Jaina and Vaishnava creeds.<sup>2</sup> Krishnadevārāja's munificent gifts to Śaiva and Vaishnava temples without any distinction, at Kālahasti, Tirupati, Chidambaram, Bezawada etc. and the abolition of certain taxes on all Śaiva and Vaishnava temples during his time, is also a well-known fact.<sup>3</sup> He appears to have conferred grants also on the Jaina and Buddhist temples.<sup>4</sup> A Jaina general and scholar Irugappa Daṇḍanātha was the minister of Harihara II. *Dvaita* and *advaita* philosophers flourished in their Courts. The above instances prove to the hilt not only the benevolent neutrality but also their patronage of different creeds.

#### The King and His Titles, •

Though the founders of the Empire, were content with the modest title of "*Mahāmaṇḍalesvara*", their successor Harihara II. bore the first Imperialistic title "*Mahārājādhirāja, Rāja-paramēśvara*". The Sālūvas who succeeded the Sangama Dynasty were credited with the titles of "*Dharaṇī-varāha*," *Misara-gaṇḍakatāri Sālūva*<sup>5</sup> The Tuluva Emperors who succeeded the Sālūvas on the Imperial Throne held the following titles. Emperor Krishnadevārāja bore the following title at the time of his Coronation "*Śrī-manmahā-rājādhirāja-paramēśvara*"<sup>7</sup> and subsequently "*Maṇu-rāyara-gaṇḍa* and *Yavonasthāpanāchārya*" in his Amarāvati Inscription.<sup>8</sup> The *mahā-rājādhirāja-paramēśvara* title also was born by Achuyutā Rāya and Sadāśiva Rāya.<sup>9</sup> At times *Śrī-vīra-prātāpa* or *Śrīvīra-Bhūjabala* also was added to these titles. The titles that were born by them indicate only their indisputable sovereignty and their indomitable valour. None of the titles give him a military halo.

2 *Ep. Carn.* vol. II. No 344

3 *Epigraphical Report* for 1904, Para 23

4 No 188 of 1901, *Epigraphical Report* for 1901

5 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. Soc.* vol. Page 227

6 *Ep. Ind.* vol. VII Page 74

7 *Ep. Ind.* vol. I p. 362

8 *Ibid* vol. VII, Page 17

9 *Ibid* Vol, XIV. page 310

## TWO COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE SALANKAYANAS OF VENGI.

### FIRST SET: A.

#### KANTERU GRANT OF VIJAYA SKANDAVARMAN.

LATE MR. K. V. LAKSHMANA RAO, M.A.

The earliest of the dynasties of kings, that Epigraphy has disclosed to us as having ruled at Vēṇgi in the Krishna district, is that of the Śālāṅkāyana s. The source of our knowledge of these ancient kings was hitherto only two<sup>1</sup> Copper-plate grants. I am therefore glad to announce that I have been able to secure two new sets of copper plate grants, of two different kings belonging to this dynasty. These plates were found, buried under ground, in a village called Kantēru, six miles from Guntur. I received them from a friend of mine.

The first of these, grant A. consists of four copper plates,  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " long and  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " broad. The upper or the first side of the first plate and the lower or the second side of the last plate are left blank. The writing is worn out at many places, though, with the help of a magnifying glass and the readings of the hitherto published Śālāṅkāyana plates, most of the indistinct letters can be made out. Of the four plates the second one is the thinnest and consequently a portion of it is broken. The edges of the plates are not raised into rims. These plates are held together by a circular copper ring  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter to which a circular seal ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter) of bronze is attached. The figure and the legend on the seal have almost completely disappeared. The figure looks like that of a bull, the hump and some portion adjoining it being clearly visible.

The second of the plates which may be called the grant B, consists of four copper plates, each 5" long and  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " broad. Only the first side of the first plate is left blank. These plates are all held together by a copper ring  $2\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter. The circular seal ( $1\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter) attached to this ring was hopelessly covered with rust, etc., when the plates first came to me and nothing was visible on it. But, by getting it cleaned continuously for several days and in several ways, I have been able to clean and expose the inner portion of the seal to a great extent. In the centre of the seal, we can now clearly perceive a beautiful figure, in relief, of a bull (Nandi) in crouching position. Below the bull and

1 The Kolleru Grant of Vijayanandivarman (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 175) and the Ellere Prakrit Grant of Vijayadevavarman (*Ep. Ind.* vol. IX. p. 56.)



along the edge of the seal, there appear some letters, which are so hopelessly worn out, that they could not be recognised even with the help of a magnifying glass. One of the letters appears to be *ra* and another *nu*. We are not therefore in a position to know what the legend on the seal was. Neither of the rings was cut when it reached me.

It is very fortunate, that we have been able to recognise the animal on the seal of the grant B. Of the four copper plates, we now have of this dynasty, none else except this grant has a seal which clearly shows the animal which represented the crest of the Śāla n k ā y a n a s and hence its importance. Of the seal of the *Ellore Prakrit Grant*,<sup>2</sup> which may be taken as the earliest of the four, it is said "The seal is all but obliterated but a faint figure of a quadruped perhaps a tiger can be seen." The seal of the *Kolleru Plates*<sup>3</sup> is lost, and seal of the *Kanteru Grant A* is worn out and shows only a portion of the animal, which when compared with the figure on this seal, may be inferred to be that of a bull.

The alphabet of the two grants is of the same type and is known as the Eastern archaic species of the Telugu-Canarese script. This was preceded by the writing which was still more archaic and is to be seen now in the *Mayidavole*<sup>4</sup> and the *Kondamudi Plates*<sup>5</sup> from the Guntur district, the Prakrit inscriptions of Amarāvati<sup>6</sup> and the inscriptions of the Andhras<sup>7</sup>. Then this type is followed by the archaic writing to be seen in the plates<sup>8</sup> of the Viśṇukundins and first two kings of the Eastern Chalukyas. All these three types form a variety called the "archaic variety" according to Dr. Euhler<sup>9</sup>. The letters in our plates closely resemble the letters in *Kolleru*<sup>10</sup> and *Chikkulla*<sup>11</sup> plates and show a very slight variation from the letters in the *Prakrit Plates*<sup>12</sup> of Ellore. Final *m* is represented by a small *m*. (Grant B, l. 9) which I believe subsequently changed into a *sunna*. It is this *sunna* which now represents *dhruvāra* in Telugu. In grant B, (l. 3) there is a special symbol to represent what is called in Sanscrit *Upadhmanīya*, i.e., *visarga* followed by *p* or *ph*. And it is specially noteworthy that this very symbol was adopted, in the latter period of the evolution of the Telugu-Canarese

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.* vol. IX p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Ind.* vol. VI p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Ind.* vol. V. p. 315

<sup>6</sup> See Burgess' Amaravati stūpa and *Ep. Ind.* vol. XV p. 258.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Ind.* vol. VIII p. 59

<sup>8</sup> Rāṣṭrīyām plates (*Ep. Ind.* vol. XI p. 134) Chikkulla plates (*Ep. Ind.* vol. IV p. 198) C. P. No. 7 of 1913-14 C. P. Nos. 11 and 12 of 1919-20 *Epigraphical Reports, Southern circle*.

<sup>9</sup> *Indische Palaeographie*, English Edition p. 70.

<sup>10</sup> *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 175.

<sup>11</sup> *Ep. Ind.* vol. IV. p. 198.

<sup>12</sup> *Ep. Ind.* vol. IX p. 56.

alphabet, to represent the purely Dravidian consonant *ra* or (*bandi ra*). I believe that the symbol for *Upadhmanya* fell out of use after some time, as the ordinary symbol for *visarga* began to represent all sorts of *visargas*; and when the Dravidian writers wanted a symbol for a sound which was particularly their own, they selected the unused symbol for *Upadhmanya*.

The numerical symbol 12 occurs in line 10 of the grant B, the figure being represented by the juxta-position of 10 and 2. All the plates of both the grants are numbered, but the plates of the grant A are numbered on both the sides, like the pages of a modern book.

The language of both the grants is Sanscrit. It is prose throughout, except the usual laudatory and imprecatory verses that come at the end.

The grant A is given by the Mahārāja Śrī Vijaya Skandavarman, who meditates on the feet of holy Chitra-ratha-svāmin, who is the disciple of the venerable Bappa, (father) who is the most excellent worshipper of the holy one, who belongs to the family of the Śālaṅkāyanas. The donee was one Śivārya who resided in a village called Lēkumārī and who belonged to Maudgalya gōtra. A village called Chinnapūṭa in Kudrahāra *vishaya* was given in the first year of the king's reign on the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha.

The donor in the grant B is Mahārāja Śrī Nandivarman of Śālaṅkāyana family, who has all the titles of the donor in the grant A. To one Svāmī Chandra who was a brahmin of the Maudgalya gōtra and was famous, a piece of land measuring 12 *nivartanas* in the village of Kuruvāḍa which was in the Kudrahāra *vishaya* was given on a certain new-moon day.

The adjectives (or the titles) which the kings of this dynasty apply to themselves are somewhat peculiar and let us therefore try to interpret them as far as we can. The Śālaṅkāyanas call themselves *Bhagavat Chitraratha-svāmi-pādānudyātas*. It is therefore clear that Chitraratha was their tutelary god. Who was this Chitraratha? We know of a certain *Gandharva* of that name but we have not come across any dynasty of kings or any individual who had *Gandharvas* as their gods. Sanscrit lexicons<sup>13</sup> give the word *Chitraratha* as a synonym for the Sun-god. I believe that the Śālaṅkāyanas worshipped the Sun-god under this name of Chitraratha. My conjecture seems to be confirmed by the representation of the Sun to be found on the seal attached to the grant B. There is a small circular projection on the outer side of the seal, which clearly represents the Sun. There is a similar projection on the head of the seal attached to the grant A, but it is not very clear.

<sup>13</sup> See *Vachaspathyam*.

Sun-worship<sup>14</sup> is prevalent in the Telugu country even now. I may here add that a small mound at Peda Vēgi is at present shown as the site of the ancient temple of Chitraratha svāmin.

Again the Śālaṅkāyanas call themselves *Bappa-Bhaṭṭāraka-pādābhaktas*. The name of Bappa occurs in the inscriptions of many dynasties, such as the Guptas, the Vākatakas, the Pallavas and the Eastern Gāngas. It is therefore certain that it does not represent any ancestor. It is not a proper name. We must therefore take it to mean 'father'. Each king showed highest reverence to his father, who was generally his predecessor on the throne.

Next coming to the word *Śālaṅkāyana* itself, it is originally the name of a Vedic ṛṣi. In *Pravara kāṇḍa*<sup>15</sup> we have *gōtras* called Śālaṅkāyana. One belongs to *Āngīrasa gāna* and has the same *pravara* which the *Bhāradvāja* gōtra has, viz., *Āngīrasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja*. There is another *Śālaṅkāyana gōtra* which belongs to the *Viśāmitra gāna*, with the *pravara Viśvāmitra, Śālaṅkāyana* and *Kauṣṭika*. In the *ganapata* of Pāṇini we find the word Śālaṅkāyana in *Nadodi* (IV. 1.99) and in *Rajanyadi* (IV. 2. 33). There was a country called Śālaṅkāyanaka where the Śālaṅkāyanas lived (IV—2—53). It is not possible to know whether our Śālaṅkāyana kings of Vēṅgi ever claimed any kinship with the ancient Śālaṅkāyanas of whom Pāṇini speaks. A Sanskrit lexicon of authority called *Medinī* gives Nandi or the sacred bull as one of the meanings of the word *Śālaṅkāyana*. From the figure of the bull found on the seal, we may infer that Śālaṅkāyanas considered themselves somehow connected with Nandi, the great bull of Śiva. We must also remember that some of the Pallavas had Nandi on their seals.

Vijaya Dēvavarman of the *Ellore Prākṛit Plates*,<sup>16</sup> claims to have performed horse-sacrifices and to be a great *Māhēśvara* or the worshipper of Māhēśvara (Śiva). We do not find the claim to horse-sacrifices in any of the subsequent grants. In place of the epithet *Parama-Māhēśvara, Parama Bhāgavata* is substituted in the later grants. I am of opinion that the boast<sup>17</sup> of *Aśvamedha* (horse sacrifice) started

14 See under "Śālaṅkāyana" Angīras and Viśvāmitra in Raghunath Bhaskar Godbole's *Bharata Varshiya Prachina Aitihasic Kosha* (Marāṭhi) where all the information from the various *Pravara Kāṇḍas* is given.

15 *Ep. Ind.* vol. IX p. 56.

16 I call this a boast because, except one or two of the members of the Gupta dynasty, none of the kings who boast of *asvamedha* were so powerful as to entitle them to perform such a sacrifice. If this was so with the members of the Imperial Gupta family much inferior was the status of the kings of other dynasties who claim to have sacrificed a horse.

17 There is a famous temple of the Sun at Arasavilli near Chicacole Ganjam District, with inscriptions dated S.S. 1068 and another in the Nellore District. (Ed.)

with the Imperial Guptas, and the contagion spread to the minor dynasties, like the Chēdis, the Vākāṭakas, the Kaḍambas, the Śālāṅkāyans and others. The proximity in time of Vijaya Dēvavarman to Gupta's South Indian triumphal march, in my opinion, explains the insertion of the word *Asvamēdha-yājina* (l. 5) in the grant of Vijaya Dēva. He must have seen some of the Imperial grants with similar titles and coolly imitated them. Subsequent kings thought it, perhaps, too big a boast for the owners of a petty principality. Similarly the epithet '*Parama māhēśvarassa*' is from the Gupta Inscriptions. Because this epithet was changed into that of *Parama Bhāgavatasya* by the successors of this king, we need not infer that the later Śālāṅkāyānas changed their Śaiva faith and became Vaiṣṇavas. *Bhāgavata* did not necessarily mean in those days a worshipper of Viṣṇu, and the followers of Śiva also were called Bhāgavatas. We have the authority of the venerable Patañjali for the usage of the word *Śiva Bhāgavata*.<sup>18</sup>

Of the places mentioned in these grants, Vēṅgi is usually identified with a village called Pedda Vēgi near Ellore. Let us accept this traditional identity. But those who intend to make original research should not forget that there are altogether four places of this name in the Telugu country. Four places of this name are found in the Northern Circars. Two of these named Chinna Vēgi and Pedda Vēgi are situated close to each other, in the vicinity of Ellore; another is found at Chintapalli in the Guntur district; and the fourth is a deserted site, named Vēgipaḍu, in the Pōlavaram Zamīndāri, to the north-west of Rajahmundry.<sup>19</sup> The second place mentioned in our plates is Kudrahāra *viśhaya*. This territory seems to have included in it the present talūkas of Avanigadda (Divi), Bandar, Kaikalūr and Guḍivāḍa in the Kristna district. The place called Gūdūr near Masulipatam is identified with the city of Kudrahāra, Gudrava, Gudrahāra and Gadravāra of the latest inscriptions are identified with this Gūdrāḥāra of the Śālāṅkāyānas. We may accept all these identifications tentatively. All the available evidence for these identifications is collected at one place by Dr. Dubreuil in his *Ancient History of the Deccan*.<sup>20</sup>

Chinnapūra of the plate A (l. 4) though named *pura* (i.e. a city) was *pallikā* (l. 9) or a small village. It may be identified with the present village of Chinnāpuram in Bandar taluk. If this identification is correct, it is very strange that this village should have continued to retain its name all these fourteen hundred years. It is not possible to identify Lēkumārī, the native place of the donee in grant A.

18 *Mahabhashya* on the *Sutra* of Panini, V, 2—1.

19 *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1905, 302.

20 Pp. 84—85

The village Kuruvāḍa mentioned in grant B. (l. 5) cannot also be identified. There is however a village called Kuravāka mentioned in the *Kollēru Plates*<sup>21</sup> of Vijaya Nandivarman (l. 6). We do not know whether these ~~two forms~~ of names Kuruvāḍa and Kuruvāka are the variations of the same name. Kuruvāḍa was however within Gudrahāra. We do not know whether Kuruvāḍa was within that district. It is probable that the donees in the *Kollēru Plates* were residing within the kingdom of the donor.

The dates of these grants can be determined approximately and only in relation to the other plates of the Śālaṅkāyanas. The *Prakrit Grant*<sup>22</sup> of the Śālaṅkāyanas, which was found near Ellore, is supposed to be the older of the two published grants. The donor of it is *Mahārāja* Śrī Vijaya Dēva varman, who is described as "the performer of the horse sacrifices, the Śālaṅkāyana, the fervent *Māheśvara* who is devoted to the feet of the Lord (his) *father*, and who meditates at the feet of the holy Chitraratha-svāmin." The *Kollēru Grant* is issued by Vijaya Nandi varma, son of *Mahārāja* Chandra varma. The land given was situated within the Kudrahāra *vishaya*. Of our new plates, grant A is by Vijaya Skandavarman. The donor of grant B, is Śrī Nandi varman. There seems to be one more grant of the Śālaṅkāyanas. J. F. Fleet<sup>23</sup> in editing the *Kollēru Grant* says, "In Sir W. Elliot's facsimiles I have another copper-plate inscription of Vijaya Nandivarman and his *Yuva-Mahārāja*, whose name seemed to be Vijaya Tungavarman or Vijaya Buddhavarman . . . the language even is doubtful but seems to be Prākṛit or Pāli."

We have thus seven names of the kings of this dynasty:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| A. Ellore Prakrit Plates<br>( <i>Ep. Ind.</i> vol. IX. p. 56)      | } (1) Vijayadēvavarman   |
| B. Kollēru plates<br>( <i>Ind. Ant.</i> vol. V, p. 175)            | } (2) Chandavarman: <i>his son</i><br>(3) Vijaya Nandivarman             |
| C. Kantēru grant A   | ... (4) Vijaya Skandavarman  |
| D. Kantēru grant B   | ... (5) Nandivarman  |
| E. Elliot's unpublished grant<br>( <i>Ind. Ant.</i> vol. V p. 175) | } (6) Vijaya Nandivarman ;<br><i>his son</i><br>(7) Vijaya Buddhavarman. |

Though we are not able to construct a regular geneology of the Śālaṅkāyanas from the above information, we may attempt a tentative chronology of these kings. The Prakrit plates may be safely taken to be older than the Sanskrit ones and the word *Vijaya* may be considered as only an honourific prefix, and not an integral part of any proper name.

<sup>21</sup> *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 175

<sup>23</sup> *Ind. Ant.* vol. V p. 175.

<sup>22</sup> *Ep. Ind.* vol. IX, p. 56.

I therefore take Vijaya Nandivarman of *Kolluru Plates* and Nandivarman of *Kanteru Grant B.* to be the same person. We may also add to these names, Hastivarman mentioned in the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription*<sup>24</sup> as the then king of Vēṅgī, presuming of course that he belonged to the family of the Śālaṅkāyanas. We can then arrange the chronology thus :

A.D. 350	Hasti varman	} <i>Allahabad Pillar Inscription</i> <i>of Samudra Gupta.</i>
„ 375	Vijaya Dēvavarman	<i>Ellore Prṛkrit Grant.</i>
„ 400	Vijaya Nandivarman	} <i>Elliot's Unpublished Prṛkrit Grant.</i>
„ 425	Buddhavarman	
„ 450	Chandavarman	} <i>Kollēru Plates &amp; Kanṭēru Grant B.</i>
„ 475	Vijaya Nandivarman	
„ 500	Vijaya Skandavarman	<i>Kanṭēru Grant A.</i>

The above six generations, from Hastivarman, ruled the kingdom of Vēṅgī for nearly one hundred and fifty years. We know this period because, about the year 350, A.D., Samudra Gupta claims to have conquered Hastivarman of Vēṅgī. And then we know from the *Chikkulla Plates*<sup>25</sup> that Vikramahēndravarmān of the Vishnukundin family, was ruling at (Re)Dendulūru near Vēṅgī and gifted away a village on the banks of the river Krishna, about the end of the fifth century A.D. It is therefore clear, that the Śālaṅkāyanas must have ceased to rule at Vēṅgī by that time. We may suppose that the last of the Śālaṅkāyana kings. Vijaya Skandavarman was defeated by Vikramahēndravarmān in or about the year 500. We have therefore to place the above six generations of the Śālaṅkāyanas within a period of 150 years (350-500 A.D.) The average for a generation thus comes to 25 years which is the generally accepted average for the unknown reigns of Indian sovereigns.

We need not stop with Hastivarman or the period of the Emperor Samudra Gupta. From the *Kondamudi Plates*<sup>26</sup> we are aware, that when those plates were issued, a king called Jayavarman of the Brihat

24 Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* pp. 1-21.

25 *Ep. Ind.* vol. IV p. 193. As for the dates of the kings of the Vishnukundin family, see Dr. Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 90 and my Article on the Telugu Academy Plates of Vishnukundin Madhavarman III, in the *Journal of Letters Calcutta, University*.

26 *Ep. Ind.* vol. VI p. 315

palāyana gōtra was reigning at Kūḍūra in the Kūḍuhāra vishaya i.e., in the very district in which the Śālaṅkāyanas subsequently ruled. As to the date of this king Dr. Hultsch, who edited the Koṇḍamuḍi Plates (in *Epigraphia Indica* vol. V p. 315) says:—"The alphabet of his inscription shows that he must have lived in the same period as the Pallava prince Śiva Śkanda varman who issued the *Mayidavolu Plates*. Further the language and phraseology of the inscription are so similar to the Nāsik inscriptions of Gautami putra Śātakarṇi (Nos. 4 and 5) and Vāsishṭhi putra Puḷumāyi (No. 3). that Jayavarman's date cannot have been very distant from that of those two Andhra kings. The archaic Sanskrit alphabet of the seal of the new plates is corroborative evidence in the same direction."

It is thus evident that at about the middle of the third century the district of Kudrahāra was governed by a dynasty of kings known as the Brihat-palāyanas. The Śālaṅkāyanas therefore, must have superseded the Brihat-palāyanas at about the end of the third century. After the period of the Andhras, this district seems to have been, successively occupied by the Brihat-palāyanas the Śālaṅkāyanas, the Viṣṇu-kuṇḍins and the Chālukyas. The Pallavas proper, do not seem to have ever occupied this territory. In all their grants<sup>27</sup> found in the Northern Circars, Kammarāshṭra is mentioned as the district under their control. In one<sup>28</sup> Dhannakaḍa is also mentioned. Kammarāshṭra is the Kammanāḍu of the later period and is identical with the northern portion of the Nellore district and a part of the present Guntur district.<sup>29</sup> Any how the early Pallavas did not cross the Kriṣhna river. The guesses of some historians that the king of Pishtapura whom Samudra Gupta claims to have conquered was a Pallava, cannot be supported by any epigraphical evidence.

The Śālaṅkāyanas, who were certainly the contemporaries of the earlier Pallavas, seem to have enjoyed their small principality of Vēṅgī and Kudrahāra, independently of the Pallavas. This principality was a small one and could not have been more extensive than an average modern district. It was situated between the mouths of the two mighty rivers of the south, the Gōḍāvari and the Kriṣhna. To the north-east of it was Kalinga, with its capital at Pishtapura (Pithapur); to the south-east was the Bay of Bengal; to the south-west was the river Kriṣhna and the kingdom of the Pallavas. It is not possible to ascertain how far it extended in the north-western direction between the two rivers or beyond

<sup>27</sup> *Chandalur Plates* of Kumaravishnu V. (*Ep. Ind.* vol. VIII p. 233 Ongodu Plates 1 and 2 (*Ep. Ind.* vol. XV p. 246)

<sup>28</sup> *Mayidavolu plates* *Ep. Ind.* vol. VI, p. 84

<sup>29</sup> *Ep. Ind.* vol. XV p. 252; also vide *Ep. Ind.* vol. IX, p. 56.

them. This principality consisted of two *visbhoyas* (districts), *Vēṅgi* and *Kudrahāra*. Of these *Vēṅgi* was identical with the taluqs of *Ellore*, *Ernagūderi* and *Bhīmavarān*, and *Gudrahāra* included the taluqs of, *Avanigadda* (*Divi*), *Bāṇḍar*, *Kaikalur* and *Gudivāḍa*.

The principality of *Vēṅgi* had a fine sea-board and a famous sea-port. There were the two great rivers flowing on the north and south, which should have facilitated the trade and the traffic of the country. Dr. Dubreuil has shown<sup>30</sup> that *Kūḍūra* (or the present *Gūḍūru*) was the same as the port of *Koḍḍūra* mentioned by Ptolemy of the second century, and that the ships which wanted to go the country of gold (*Khryse*), i.e., the Indo-China peninsula (*Burma*, *Malacca*, *Cambodia*, *Annām*) started from this port. The place now called *Ghaṇṭasāla* was a 'great mart' and was called *Koṇṭakossyla* by Ptolemy. So the port of *Masulipatam*, though under different names has been playing an important part in the sea-trade of Southern India.

At *Ghaṇṭasāla*, which is between *Gūḍūru* and the mouths of the *Krishṇa* river, a Buddhist stupa has been discovered.<sup>31</sup> We can therefore infer that this part of the country was once under the influence of Buddhism. We can see the influence of this religion still lingering in the two Prakrit grants found in this region, the *Koṇḍamuḍi* plates of *Brihatpalāyana Jayavarman* and the *Ellore* plates of *Sālaṅkāyana Vijaya Dēvarman*. The religious language of Buddhism was Prakrit or Pali.

I strongly believe that *Sālaṅkāyanas* were some how related to the *Pallavas* and hence were left alone unmolested by the *Pallavas*, who were certainly the more powerful of the two. It may be that these two dynasties had a common ancestor or that they were related to each other by marriage alliances. I have three reasons for supposing so. The *Pallavas* claim<sup>32</sup> to belong to the *Bhāradvāja-gotra*, which has the *Pravara* of *Āṅgīrasa*, *Bārhaspatya*, and *Bhāradvāja*. And as I have shown above, *Sālaṅkāyana* is a *gotra* belonging to the *Bhāradvāja* clan and has the same *pravara*. Then both these dynasties, which were contemporary had for their crest the bull (*Nandi*). The seal attached to our *Kanteru Grant B* becomes thus very important in connecting these two families. Above all, the similarity of names of the kings of these two dynasties is a very strong reason to believe that these families were connected. The names of *Skandavarman*, *Nandivarman* and *Buddhavarman* found in the *Sālaṅkāyana* plates are found repeated several times in the geneologies of the *Pallavas* also. Dr. Dubreuil has given a geneology and the approximate dates of the *Pallavas* at page 70 of his

30 *Ancient History of the Deccan* pp. 86—88.

31 See *Indian Buddhist Antiquities* by A. Rea.

32 See *Mayidavole Plates* and other inscriptions of the *Pallavas*.



*Ancient History of the Deccan.* In a period of 250 years, beginning with 300 A.D. and ending with 550 A.D., we have four Skandavarmas, two Buddhavarmas and two Nandivarmas. This similarity of names cannot be accidental. The repetition of the same name in both the families for several generations must be due to their alliance and the respect and love, each family felt for the members of the other.

## Text.1

*First Plate, Second Side.*

- 1 स्वस्ति । विजयवेङ्कयाः । भगवच्चित्रथस्वामि
- 2 पादानुध्यातस्य वप्पभट्टारक पाद भ
- 3 क्तस्य शालङ्कायनस्य महाराज श्री विजय

*Second Plate, First Side.*

- 4 स्कन्दवर्मणो [वचनात्कु\*] इहा<sup>2</sup>)र चित्र<sup>3</sup> पुरे
- 5 ग्रामेयकाः वक्तव्याः [॥\*] अस्य स्माभि रस्म
- 6 कुल गोत्र श्रे यशोमिवृद्धये एतस्मै

*Second Plate, Second Side.*

- 7 मौद्गल्यस गोत्राय लेकुमारी ग्राम वा
- 8 स्तव्याय शिवार्याय सर्व्व परिहारेणुं
- 9 सापालिका दत्ता [॥\*] [त<sup>4</sup>द्विदत्वा\*] [भ<sup>5</sup>वद्भि] र<sup>6</sup>पूर्व्व [म\*]

*Third Plate, First Side.*

- 10 [स<sup>1</sup>]मर्ष्य दया साधु प्रेमणो कर्त्तव्यमिति [॥\*]
- 11 अपि च सर्व्व नियोग नियुक्ता योक्तव
- 12 विषयपति मिश्रैः सापालिका परिहर्तव्वा [॥\*]

*Third Plate, Second Side.*

- 13 [प्रवर्द्धमान\*] श्री विजयराज्य संवत्सरे प्र
- 14 धमे वैशाख पौर्णिमास्यां दत्ता पट्टिका [॥\*]
- 15 बहुभिर्बहुधा दत्ता बहुभि श्रानुपालिता [॥\*]

1 From the original plates in my collection.

2 These two letters were clearly seen when I made my first transcript but were subsequently lost in getting the plates cleaned.

3 This may be read as चित्तपुरे or चिन्तपुरे or चित्तपुरे because the writer practically makes no difference between त and न

4 Only the secondary signs of इ= (gudi) of the second and third letters and the *dirgata* of the third are visible.

5 More than half of the upper portions of these three letters are visible,

6 This letter is not clear.

*Fourth Plate, First Side.*

- 16 यस्य यस्य [यदा भूमि] स्तस्य तस्य तदा  
 17 पलं । षष्टिवर्षं सहस्राणि स्वर्गे क्रीड  
 18 [ति भूमिदः ।\*] अक्षेप्ता चानु मन्ता च तान्ये  
 19 [व नरके\*] वसेत् [॥ ]

## TRANSLATION.

Ll. 1—5. Hail ! The villagers of Chinnapura in Kudrahāra (vishaya) are to be informed thus by this command, from the victorious Vēṅgi, of Mahārāja Śrī Vijaya Skandavarman, who meditates on the feet of the holy Chitraratha-svāmi, who is a devotee at the feet of the venerable Bappa (father), who belongs to the family of the Śālaṅkāyaṇas.

Ll. 5—9. With a view to increase the prosperity of our family (Kula) and clan (gotra), this village has been given by us, with immunity from all the taxes, to Śivārya, residing in the village of Lēkumāri and belonging to the Maudgalya gotra.

Ll. 9—10. Knowing this, you are to do your duty properly, and give possession of the village ( to him ) with affection and love.

Ll. 11—13. This village is to left alone by all the respectable officers, ministers, agents and heads of the vishayas.

Ll. 13—15. This charter has been given on the full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha in the first year of our Victorious reign.

Ll. 15—17. Land has been given in charity by many and it has been protected by many. He who is the owner of the land for the time being enjoys the fruit of the charity (even though given by his predecessors).

Ll. 17—19. The giver of land lives gaily in Heaven for sixty thousand years. He who confiscates or assents to such confiscation shall dwell in Hell, for the same period.

## KANTERU GRANT OF NANDIVARMAN B.

## Text!

*First plate, Second side.*

- 1 स्वस्ति विजय वे(ङ्गीपुराद्) गवच्चिन्नरथ  
 2 स्वामि पादानुध्यातो वप्प भट्टारक पा

• *Second plate, First side.*

- 3 दभक्तः परमभागवतः शा (ल)ङ्काय  
 4 णो महाराज श्री नन्दिवर्म (ो\*) कुद्राहारे<sup>2</sup>

*Second plate Second side.*

- 5 विषये कुरुवाडभामे मुनुड<sup>3</sup> सहिता  
 6 ग्रामेयकाणां ज्ञापयति (॥\*) स्वस्ति । अस्माभिः

*Third plate, First side.*

7 भ्राह्मणाय भौद्रल्यस गोत्राय

8 प्रसिद्धाय स्वामिचन्द्राय अस्मत्कुल गो

*Third plate, Second side.*

9 (ब\* धर्म यशो) भिवृद्ध्यर्द्धम् अस्मिन्ग्रामे द्वादश

10 भूमि निवर्त्तनानि प्रदत्तानि (II) तदवेत्य<sup>4</sup>*Fourth plate, First side.*

11 (अ\*) मास्या म्पाट्टिका दत्ता ॥ बहुभि र्वसुधा दत्ता

12 बहुभि श्रानुपालिता । यस्य यस्य यदाभूमि

13 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् (I\*)

*Fourth plate, Second side.*

14 षष्टिवर्ष सहस्राणि स्वर्गे क्रीडति भूमिदः

15 आक्षेप्ता चाभिमन्ताच तान्ये व नरके वसेदिति (II\*)

Ll. 1-6. Hail ! From the victorious Vēñgīpura ! Śālañkāyana Mahārājā Sri Nandivarama, who meditates on the feet of the holy Chitrarathasvami, who is a devotee at the feet of the venerable Bappa (father) and who is the most excellent worshipper of the holy one;—commands the villagers of Kuruvāḍa in the Kudrahāra viśhaya (thus):—

Ll. 6-11. Hail ! With a view to increase the prosperity of our family (*Kula*), clan (*gotra*) and merit (*dharma*), a piece of land in this village measuring 12 *nivartanas*, is given by us to the famous Brahmin Svāmichandra of the Maudgalya *gotra*. This charter is given on the New Moon-day.

Ll. 11-15. (The usual verses as at the end of grant A.)

1 From the original copper plates in my collection.

2 This word was read as Kudubara in the Kolleru plates by Dr. Burnell (*South Indian Palaeography* p. 135) and by Dr. Fleet (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V p. 175), The latter put an interrogation after the letter *da*. But Dr. Hultzsch has read it correctly as shown by him in a foot-note in *Ep. Ind.* vol. IV p. 193.

3 This is a peculiar word; its meaning is not known and there is a difference of opinion as to its reading. This word occurs in the Kolleru as well as in the Ellore Prakrit Plates. Burnell has read it as *munyoda* in the *South Indian Palaeography* (p. ). Dr. Fleet has a big note about it (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 176) and suggests in the end that it may be *matyadi*. Dr. Hultzsch who has edited the *Ellore Prakrit Grant* has read it as *muluda*. Any how the reading and the meaning of this are doubtful.

4. I think some portion of the grant containing injunctions to the officer, with words such as *Sarva niyoganiyuktoyoktaka viśhaya pati misraih pullika parihaṛene* were omitted by mistake by the writer.

## TELUGU ACADEMY PLATES OF SAKTIVARMAN II. . .

BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNA RAO, B.A., B.L.

I edit this inscription through the kind courtesy of Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu, President of the Society, who has supplied me with, excellent ink-impressions of the plates, at my request. These plates were noticed by the Government Epigraphist in his Annual Report on *South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1913-14 on page 86, in para 10 and numbered as C. P. No. 8 of 1913-14.

The plates which contain the subjoined grant originally came into the possession of Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu, President of the Telugu Academy in or about 1913, and since then they have been in the Telugu Academy and have become its property. It is not known, however, where-from and by whom these plates were first brought to the notice of the President of the Telugu Academy, but I remember Mr. Ramayya Pantulu telling me once that they were discovered in Timmāpuram, in the Pithapuram Zamindāri, Gōdāvari district.

The plates are five in number, hung, on a ring the ends of which were secured in a circular seal which contains in relief countersunk on its surface the legend "*Tribhuvanāṅkuṣa*". It is not known whether the ring was cut by the time the plates reached the present owner. The plates measure  $9\frac{2}{5}$ "  $\times$  5"; the edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims, so as to protect the writing on them. Except on the first or the upper side of the first plate there is writing on both sides on all the plates; the last or the fifth plate, too, contains four lines of writing on the outer side. Except on the last plate on its outer side and on the second side of the first plate the writing throughout has been well preserved; only the last lines of the grant written on the second side of the fifth plate have become worn out by rust.

The inscription runs into 104 lines and is written in the transitional Telugu alphabet of the eleventh century A. D. The writing bears a close resemblance to that of the Kōrunilli and the Nandamapūṇḍi grants of Rājārāja.<sup>1</sup> This is shown clearly for example by the two forms of *mu* in lines 43 and 52. The final *m* is not used at all and in its place the *anusvāra* has been substituted. The use of the nasal *n* is still to be seen

1 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIV, p. 48, and *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 300 respectively.

in words like *Duṣyantaḥ* (l. 8), *lokāntara-m* (l. 20) *narēndra* (l. 50), *sakalān-dharitṛim* (l. 54) and *nadanah* (l. 62), but at the same time it is also represented by an *anusvāra* in several places. The difference between the secondary forms of *a* and *ā*, *i* and *ī*, *u* and *ū*, and *o* and *ō* is not kept up uniformly. In one case the long *u* is represented by the long *a* as in *Śatrān* (l. 51). The writing may be said to be careless for the scribe left out many letters and words here and there rendering the task of restoration of the correct text that might be in the mind of the composer of the grant, rather difficult. The language employed throughout in the grant is Sanskrit, which is partly in prose and partly in poetry, except the portion containing the description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll. 89—97) which is in Telugu and Sanskrit prose mixed.

The orthography calls for a few remarks. It may be noted that a consonant besides being doubled as usual after the secondary form *r*, is also doubled in one instance after an *anusvāra* for *e*, *g*; i.e., *paṃccaviṃśati* (l. 47). Again *ri* is used in one place for the secondary form of the vowel *r* for e.g., *kritya* for *kṛtya*, in line 87. The name of the donor of the grant and that of the name-sake of his ancestor, is written as Śattivarama (ll. 63, 50, and 51) instead of Śaktivarma. Śakti in the compound word *ananta-śakti* is written as *ananta-śatti* in line 63. The vernacular pronunciation or probably the prakrit form of Yuddhamalla as Juddhamalla may also be noticed in line 45. The symbol *ra* called *bandi ra* in Telugu is used in the following cases “nadumambhāṛina ēru” (l. 61), *Cheṛuvu* (l. 62), ‘Bārasivāḍa-pariti’ (l. 95) and lastly ‘polagarusu’ (ll. 95-97), in the Telugu portion of the grant.

This is the only copper plate grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Śaktivarman II., son of Vijayāditya VII. and Māḍavamahādēvi., that has been found till now. This prince is known to us from the Ryāli plates of Vijayāditya VII<sup>2</sup> as having reigned for one year only after the death of Rājārāja, in or about 1061 A.D. The present record, like the other grants of the dynasty, commencing from the Ranastipūṇḍi Grant of Vimaladitya,<sup>3</sup> opens with the usual Pauranic or legendary account and geneology of the Chalukyas, and then gives in detail, following the practice of the earlier records of the family, the duration of the reign of each king from Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana to Rājārāja, uncle of Śaktivarman II., the donor of the sub-joined grant. This inscription is an important one for more than one reason. It contains new facts about the early kings of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty which were not known to us before.

In the first place there is a statement in line 47, that both Dānārṇava and Ammarāja II. killed each other's sons. Unfortunately for

<sup>2</sup> C. P. Nos. 8 & 9 of 1923—24. (See *Rep. on Ep.* for 1923—24 p. 77.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.* vol. VI, p. 368.

us the text affords us considerable difficulty, being full of mistakes, in restoring the correct reading. The Government Epigraphist who examined the inscription remarks that, 'Just before the *interregnum*, the two brothers Dānārṇava and Amma II. are stated to have murdered the sons of each other,' and then adds, "this statement partly explains the necessity for an *interregnum* which followed their rule in the Vēngī country". These murders appear to have happened in the last days of Ammarāja II., for immediately after this statement comes the mention of the fact that Ammarāja II. protected the earth for twenty-five years and then his half-brother (*dvamāturaḥ*) reigned for three years. Accepting the remarks of the Government Epigraphist, I wrote on the history of the reign of Ammarāja II., in my *History of Rajahmundry*<sup>4</sup> as follows:

"But soon after the expedition against the Rāstrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III., Ammarāja II. returned home and once more took over the administration of the kingdom. From this time forward the amiable relations between the brothers seem to have been a little ruffled, and we do not hear of the amity any more between them. Dānārṇava seemed to have turned hostile to Ammarāja II. during the closing years of latter's reign. The records of the later kings of the house clearly speak that Amma's last years were marred by cruel atrocities and cold blooded murders of the princes of the blood royal, by the king and his half-brother, which probably, resulted in the death or expulsion of Ammarāja II. from the country in A.D. 970, and the death of Dānārṇava, three years later, in a protracted civil war. Ammarāja II's father-in-law Nṛpa Kāma, lord of the Lake Country (*Saro-nātha*), his mother-in-law Nāyamāmba (both of whom were held at one time in great esteem by the king) and his brother-in-law, Bhāskara surnamed *Gaṇḍanārayana*,—all of them seem to have fallen out and changed colours. Bhāskara deserted the cause of the king and joined Bādaparāja, eldest son of Yuddha malla II., who was then engaged in an attempt to invade Vēngi with the assistance of the Rāshtrakūṭas in order to gain the kingdom of his father to himself. The causes for this desertion of the king's own kith and kin during critical times on the one hand, and the growth of ill feelings between the king and his half-brother Dānārṇava on the other, are not known. Ammarāja II. had probably estranged his own brother and all his kinsmen in his queen's side by his foolish acts.

"The events of the last days of Ammarāja II., that partly explain the causes for the successful invasion of Vēngi and the capture of the throne by Bādapa and Amma's death or expulsion from the country in the struggle that ensued, may be gleaned from the surrounding circumstances. In the struggle between the brothers, the country became probably

divided, and the invader Bādapa and his Rāshtrakūta allies, aided by the traitor Bhāskara could easily seize the throne. But Bādapa at any rate could not have won the kingdom so easily as he said. The civil war following the invasion appears to have dragged on for three years, at least, from A.D. 970 to 973, the period which is usually assigned to Dānārāva. This period of civil war, which is said to be the reign of Dānārāva seems to indicate that Dānārāva was then carrying on the struggle against Bādapa, while Amma II. was either dead or expelled from the country. We have also a statement in the Ārambāka Plates of Bādapa that he (Bādapa) conquered the kingdom from Ammarāja himself, which fact seems to suggest that Bādapa did not recognise Dānārāva as king at all. It is this reign of Bādapa which lasted probably for 27 years that was regarded as the period of *interregnum*, the period during which the kings of the later years stated, 'there was no king over Vēngi'. The statement meant only that the senior branch of the dynasty which was restored to the throne by the accession of Śaktivarman I. in A.D. 999 did not recognise the rule of the younger branch of the dynasty represented by the descendants of Yuddhamalla I., the traitor brother of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III."

I suggested that the causes for the '*interregnum*' or more properly speaking for the invasion of Bādapa, might be in the beginning, a quarrel between Amma II. and his brother Dānārāva, and later, dissensions between Amma II. and his queen's relatives, Nṛpa Kāma and his son Bhāskara. For all these dissensions in the royal family, I said, there might be, perhaps, something of the nature of disgraceful intrigue in the life of Amma's favourite mistress Chāmekāmba and the son of Dānārāva or Amma himself, like that of Chitrāngi and Sārangadhara of the story connected with the reign of Rājarāja Narēndra, in the last days of Ammrāja's reign.

In writing the above I had in my mind not only the statements recorded in the present grant but also in the Ārambāka Plates of Bādapa,<sup>5</sup> the Guṇḍugolanu Plates<sup>6</sup> and the Kaluchumbazru Grant<sup>7</sup> of Ammarāja II. I put these four records together and constructed a possible turn of events of the last days of Amma II.

It is stated in the present grant that Rājarāja and Vijayāditya VII. were the sons of Vimalāditya, though born of different mothers. We know from Nanniya's *Mahābhārata*, that Rājarāja was the eldest born and his mother was Kundavāmbā, daughter of Rājarāja Chōla the great. Vijayāditya's mother is said to be Mēḍavamahādēvī, also, a

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Ind.* vol. XIX. p. 137 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIII. p. 348.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Ind.* vol. VII. p. 177 ff.

Chola princess, but her parents' names are not mentioned (l. 56). The Government Epigraphist reads the name of queen Mēḍavamahādēvi wrongly as Mājavamahādēvi, in this record.<sup>8</sup> It is further stated in this grant that Vijayāditya VII. conquered the Vēngi kingdom during the absence of his half-brother (*dvaimāturaḥ*). Immediately after this, follows another statement that Vijayāditya VII. placed his son Śaktivarman II. on the throne of Vēngi out of abundance of affection for his son (*putra sneha*) after destroying or defeating all his enemies. It is interesting to know who these enemies were, that Vijayāditya fought in order to make his son king of Vēngi. It is probable, these enemies were no other than Vijayāditya's half-brother Rājarāja and his son Rājendra Chōḍa, who afterwards came to be known as the illustrious Kulōttunga Chōla Dēva I. This conquest of Vēngi and the usurpation are said to have happened, after Rājarāja had reigned for forty-one years. The events of the last days of Rajaraja as described in our grant are in full accordance with the tradition extant in the Āndhra country, regarding the incompleteness of Nanniya Bhaṭṭa's *Mahābhārataṃ*. Tradition says that during the last days of Rājarāja, the country was very much disturbed on account of some invasion by the enemies, and as a result of that, soon drifted into a war, and that both Rājarāja and his poet laureate died about that time in the midst of those troubled times.

We do not know the causes for the invasion of Vēngi at the fag end of Rājarāja's reign by Vijayāditya VII. It seems certain that Vijayāditya VII. made use of the opportunity to invade the country, afforded by the absence of the king who had probably gone on an expedition to a distant country. And in this he must have been assisted by Sōmēśvara I. the Western Chalukya king of Kalṅga, whose vassal he was, ruling over the Nōlambavāḍi *viśaya*, since his first exile in 1035 A. D. circa. About this time (A.D. 1060) Sōmēśvara I. invaded the Chōla dominions, penetrated as far as Kānchi and stormed the city taking away large booty and plunder.<sup>9</sup> At about this time, too, Sōmēśvara I. probably induced Jagadēkabhūṣana Dhārāvarṣadēva, the Sinda king of Chakrakūṭa Maṇḍala in the Southern Kōsala country, to invade the kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas in the north. Rājarāja and his son Rājendra Chōḍa<sup>10</sup> might have been engaged in the campaign against Dhārāvarṣadēva at about this time, and Vijayāditya VII. taking advantage of his brothers absence from the country and helped by Sōmēśvara I. invaded and conquered Vēngi.

8 *Ep. Rep.* for 1913-14 p. 86.

9 *Ārṇ.-desa Insers.* vol. I. p. 144; *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p 318; and *Vikramaṅka deva Charita*, Introd. p. 27.

10 It was about this time that prince Rajendra Choda, afterwards the famous Kulottunga Chola Deva I. stormed the fortress of Chakrakuta (Sakrakkottam) and captured the elephants of Vairāgaram (Wairgarh). See the remarks of Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in *Ep. Ind.* vol. X p. 27.



It is interesting to find from a grant recently discovered and edited by my friend Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A., in the pages of this *Journal* (vol. p. 277. that this was not the first time that Vijayāditya VII<sup>1</sup> invaded and occupied Vēngi. The grants states as follows:—(lines 59–65):

“तस्य मुम्मडिभीमस्यसुतः कृतमति भहाराजराजाह्वयो राजा द्वादशब्दन्धरामपात् ॥

तं राराजंनृपतिं निर्घात्र्य भुवं प्रसह्य विजयादित्यः ।

विमलादित्यतनूजस्य द्वैमातुरो ग्रहीद्यराज्यम् ॥

श्रीमान्दशके समौघे दृगिषु निधिमिते कर्कगे कर्कशांशौ

शुद्धात्मा शुद्धपंचम्यदितिसुतदिने सूर्यभ शौर्यशाली ।

कन्यालभेतिधन्वा शशिकुलतिलको राजमार्त्ताण्डसूनु

वैङ्गीसाम्राज्यपट्टं स्म वहति विजयादित्यभूपः प्रतापी ॥

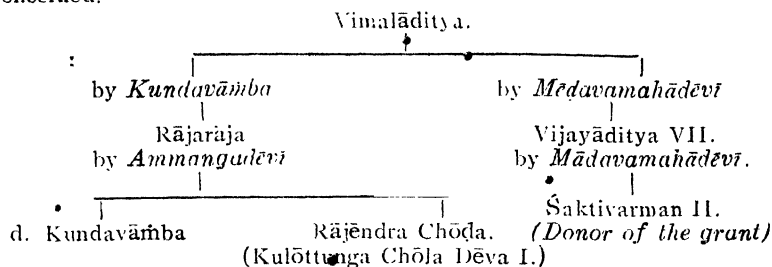
Thus it is said that Rājarāja, son of Mummaḍi Bhīma, i.e., Vimalāditya<sup>1</sup> who is entitled to be called *Mahārāja* protected the earth for twelve years; then Vijayāditya (VII.) son of Vimalāditya and a brother of Rājarāja born a different mother (*dvaimāturaḥ*) having expelled Rājarāja forcibly, obtained the kingdom. This valourous prince, Vijayāditya, son of *Rājamārtāṇḍa*, the foremost among the race of the Moon, crowned himself king of Vēngi on *aditisuta-dina* (Thursday, the 5th *tithi* in the bright fortnight after the sun had entered the zodiacal sign *Karkāṭaka* i.e. in the solar month of *Karkāṭaka*, in the *Śaka Samvat* 952,” (represented by numerical word symbols, *drk* = 2, *iṣṇu* = 5 and *nidhi* = 9, i.e. = 952) in the *Kanyā lagna* when the *nakṣātra* was Hasta, which corresponds to Thursday, the 9 July 1030 A.D.<sup>11</sup> and this date falls in the 8th year of Rājarāja's reign. Thus, from this it is clear that Vijayāditya actually became king after Rājarāja had protected the country for full twelve years, even though his actual coronation took place four years previously. We know that Rājarāja ascended the throne on Thursday, the 16th August, A.D. 1022, and by adding 12 years to this date we arrive at 16th August, A.D. 1034: thus the usurpation by Vijayāditya VII. should have taken place only after the last mentioned date. His crowning himself to the kingdom of Vēngi four years prior to this date might be only a mark of his revolt against his brother and desire to become the king of Vēngi himself, with the assistance of some of the discontented nobles of the court like the Malaya chief Bhīma Bhūpa mentioned in this Pāmulavāka grant.<sup>12</sup> The interval of four years between the actual date of

11 I am indebted to Mr. V. S. Prakasarao, B. A., L. T. who greatly assisted me in calculating the date. This date and the date further below have been calculated with the help of L. D. Svamikanu Pilla's *Indian Chronology*.

12 Above vol. II. p. 277–289.

Vijayāditya's coronation in A. D. 1030 and forcible seizing of the throne by defeating and driving out Rājarāja at the end of the latter's 12th year of reign, was probably filled with civil war with varying success on either side. It does not appear either from Vijayāditya's Pāmulavāka Plates or the present record how long Vijayāditya VII. reigned after this event. It is probable that he did not reign long and that he was again attacked shortly afterwards, defeated and lastly banished from the country by Rājarāja. For the subjoined grant and other records clearly state that Rājarāja reigned for full forty-one years and this statement is in support of the view that it was an uninterrupted reign. If Vijayāditya VII. conquered and crowned himself king of Vēṅgi, his authority did not extend beyond a limited area, and his reign did not exceed at any rate for more than a year. It is interesting to note that this revolt, and the usurpation by Vijayāditya VII. are not mentioned in the record under review. This is perhaps due to the fact the Vijayāditya VII.'s escapade at that time was after all a disgraceful affair.

Śaktivarmaṇ's mother Mādava mahādēvi is said to be a princess of the Haihaya family, I give below the geneolgy for the sake of convenience so far as this king and his immediate ancestors are concerned.



Śaktivarmaṇ II. according to this grant bore the surnames *Samavāika bhairava* and *Satyāśraya*. He seems to be quite a youthful prince nay, even a boy at the time of his accession to throne, from the way in which it is said that he was crowned to the kingdom by his father out of affection (*putra-sneha*) after conquering all his enemies for him. Elsewhere in the Ryāli Plates<sup>13</sup> which were issued by Vijayāditya VII. himself twelve years after he had assumed the reigns of sovereignty, the king deeply mourns the untimely and tragic death of his young son Śaktivarmaṇ II. on the battle field when he was hemmed in on all sides, and compares him to the epic hero Abhimanyu.

The object of the grant is record the gift of the village of Numiyavāḍa in the Prōlunāṇḍu to Aḍapa Appana, an officer of the king on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, that came sometime after the

king's coronation. He is said to belong to the *Kāsyapa* gōtra and *Apasamba* śāstra. He is referred in most respectful terms by the king, and described as one who took great pains *kṛta-kleśa* in his cause as if it was own. He is the son of Kaṇṭhena, and son's son of Drōṇa, who was praised by all learned men as an excellent person. Appana's mother's family name is mentioned as *Benti kula* through curiously enough her name itself is omitted. It is doubtful from the absence any statement or indication whether the donee, Aḍapa Appana was a *Brāhmaṇa* after all. We may take him either to be Kṣatriya or more probably as a Śūdra, for we have till this day Śūdra families with the surname *Aḍapa*. The famous chiefs, Era Bommu Nāyaka and China Bommu Nāyaka of Vēlūr of the time of Achyutarāya, Sadāśivarāya and Rāmarāya of Vijayanagar, belonged to the Aḍapa family, and the Telugu word *Aḍapa* means "the bearer of the betel leaf bag for the king or any high personage". The Aḍapa family was very illustrious in Vijayanagar History not only for their valour but also for their patronage of Appaya Dikṣita and brahminical learning of the Saivaita school. These naiks of Velur also belonged to the *Kāsyapa* gōtra.

This inscription is dated and contains the date of the king's coronation. Śaktivarman's coronation took place on Thursday, the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Tula, *Śaka Samvat* 983 expired expressed in numerical word symbols, *guna* = 3, *vasu* = 8, *nidhi* = 94 = 983, which corresponds to Thursday, 18th October A.D. 1061. The lunar eclipse may also be calculated and thus we will be able to know exactly the date on which the present grant was made.

Numiyavāḍa, the village granted cannot be identified now. There is no village of that name in Prōlunāṇḍu which corresponds to the modern Taluk of Peddāpuram, portions of Rāmaṇḍrapuram, Cocanada and subdivisions of Piṭhāpuram and Tuni, of the East Godavari District. The village was probably deserted and hence gone out existence in course of time. It might be that the village Timmāpuram, at which the plates were found, lying between Piṭhāpuram and Cocanada, was the original Numiyavāḍa. Some of the villages mentioned as boundaries cannot also be identified. Bārasivāḍa and Chandūru are not to be seen. Chandūru may be Chandurti, but the village is a little far away from Timmapuram. Even the small local streams mentioned as boundaries may not be existing today. The Telugu portion of the inscription contains many archaic words (for example, *paṛiti* = stream); and it is this aspect that is really interesting to the philologist and linguist, interested in the study of the archaic Telugu.

The executor of the grant is Kaṭakādhpati Nārāyaṇa, the poet who composed it is Kavi Kāmana. The scribe is said to belong to *Viśvakarma kula*, but his name is obliterated.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

First Plate, Second Side.

- 1 <sup>2</sup> श्रीधाम्नः पुरुषोत्तमस्य महतो नारायणस्य प्रभो श्रीभी पंकरहाद्भूष
- 2 जगता क्षत्रा स्वयंभूस्ततः । जज्ञे मानससूनु रत्रिरित यस्तस्मान्मुनेरत्रि तः सोमो वैशक्-
- 3 <sup>र</sup> स्तुधांशु रुदितः श्रीकण्ठचूडामणिः ॥ (१\*) <sup>3</sup> तस्माद्भूस्तुधासूते [वृधो बुधनुत  
(स्ततः\*)<sup>4</sup>] । जातः पुरुरवो
- 4 नामचक्रवर्ती सविक्रमः ॥ (२\*) तस्मा दायु क्षतो बहुष स्ततो ययातिश्चक्रवर्ती  
वंशकर्त्ता । ततः पूरु
- 5 रिति चक्रवर्ती । तद्वो जनमेजयोऽश्वमेधव्रित युगकर्तेति । (ततः) <sup>6</sup> प्राचीशः ततः सैन्य
- 6 याति स्ततो ह्यपतिस्ततः सार्वभौम स्ततो जयसेन स्ततो महाभौम स्तस्मा
- 7 <sup>5</sup> दशानकः ततः क्रोधानन स्ततो देवंकि स्तस्मादृभुक स्तस्मादृभुक स्ततो मतिवर स्तत्
- 8 यागयाजी सरस्वतीनदीनाथः । ततः कात्यायनः ततो नील स्ततो (दु\*) व्यन्तः तत्सुतो ।
- 9 <sup>6</sup> गंगायमुनातीरे यदविच्छिन्ना निधाय यूपान् क्रमशः कृत्वा तथाश्वमेधनाम
- 10 महाकर्मा भरत इति योलभत ॥ (३\*) ततो भरताद्भूमन्यु स्ततोः सुहोत्र स्ततो
- 11 हस्ती ततो विरोचन स्तस्मा दजमिल<sup>9</sup> स्ततः संवरण स्तस्यच तपन सुताया स्तप
- 12 त्याश्च सुधन्वा । ततः परीक्षित् ततोभीमसेनस्ततः प्रदीपनस्ततः शन्तनुस्ततोविचित्र-

Second Plate, First Side.

- 13 वीर्यं स्ततः पाण्डुराजः<sup>10</sup> पुत्रास्तस्य च धर्मज भीमार्जुन नकुल सह(दे\*)वाः[<sup>1</sup>]  
पंचेद्रिय व
- 14 त्वंचस्युः<sup>11</sup> त्विधेय ग्राहिण स्तत्रः ॥ (४) <sup>12</sup> येनादाहि विजित्य <sup>13</sup> काण्डव मथो  
गाण्डीविना वज्रिणं युद्धे पाशु
- 15 पतास मन्धक रिपोश्चालाभि दैत्यान् भहन् । इन्द्राद्भासनमध्यरोहि जयिना यत्कालि  
केयादिकान्

1. From the ink impressions supplied to me by Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L.

2 Sloka Śārdulavikrīḍita

3 Sloka Anushtup.

4 The letters in the brackets were first written, then struck off and then inscribed again between lines 3 and 4. Hence they are not very clear.

5 Read दैशानकः

6 Sloka Arya.

7 Read यदविच्छिन्नं

8. The Visarga is superfluous.

9. Read दजमिल

10 Sloka Arya

11 The Visarga is superfluous 12. Sloka, Śārdulavikrīḍita. 13 Read काण्डव

- 16 जित्वा स्वैरमकारि वंशविपिनच्छेदः कुरुणं विभोः ॥ (५\*) ततोर्जुना दमिमन्यु स्ततः  
परीक्षित् ततो जन-
- 17 मेजय स्ततः क्षेमुक स्ततो नरबाहन स्ततः शतानीक स्तस्या दुदयन स्ततः प्रभृतिष्व<sup>14</sup>  
• • विच्छिन्न सन्ताने
- 18 <sup>15</sup>स्तय्येभ्यासिंहासनासीनेष्वेकाग्र च षष्टि(च\*)कवर्त्तिषुगतेष्व<sup>16</sup> तद्वश्योविजयादित्यनाम
- 19 राज[<sup>17</sup>] विजिष्वतया<sup>17</sup> दक्षिणापथं गत्वा त्रिलोचनपल्लव मविक्षिष्य दैवदुरीह -
- 20 या लोकोन्तरमगमत् । तस्मिन्संकुले पुरोहितेन वृद्धामाल्यैश्च सार्धमन्तर्वत्नी तस्य महा
- 21 देवी मु (दिवेमु\*)<sup>18</sup>नामाग्रहारमुपगम्य तद्वास्तव्येन विष्णुभट्टसोमयाजिनादुद्दिष्ट  
निर्व्विषम
- 22 भिरक्षितासती विष्णुवर्द्धन नन्दनमसूत । सा तस्य च कुमारस्य मानव्यसंगोत्र हारिती
- 23 पुत्र द्विपक्ष(गोत्र\*)क्रमोचितानिकर्माणि क(<sup>19</sup>\*)रयित्वा तमवर्धयन् । स च मात्रा  
विदितवृत्ता
- 24 न्त स्मृनुर्निर्मात्य चलुक्यगिरौ नन्दां भगवतीं गौरीमाराध्य कुमारनरनारायण मा-

*Second Plate, Second Side.*

- 25 तृ गणांश्च संतर्प्य श्वेतातपत्रैक शंखपञ्चमहृष्टाब्द पालिकेतन प्रतिदत्त्वा<sup>19</sup> व
- 26 राहलाञ्छन पिच्छकुन्त, सिंहासन मकरतोरणं कनकदण्ड गंगायमुनादीनि स्व
- 27 कुलक्रमागतानि निक्षिप्तानीव साम्राज्यचिह्नानि समादाय कडंब गंगादि भू
- 28 मिषा भिज्जित्य सेतुनर्ममदामध्यं सार्धसंस्तुतं दक्षिणापथं पालयामास ॥ <sup>20</sup>तस्या
- 29 सी द्विजयादित्यो विष्णुवर्द्धनभूपतेः । पल्लवान्वय जाताया महादेव्याश्च नन्दनः॥<sup>21</sup> (६)
- 30 तत्पुतः पोलकेशिवल्लभ स्तत्पुत्रः कीर्त्तिवर्म्मा । तस्य<sup>22</sup>तनयः (<sup>19</sup>\*) श्रीमातां सकलभू<sup>21</sup>
- 31 वन संस्तूयमान मानव्यसंगोत्राणां हारिती (पु\*)त्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्ध
- 32 र(<sup>19</sup>\*)ज्यान(<sup>19</sup>\*)मातृगणपरिपालितानांस्वामिमहासेनपादानुष्यतानांनैगवन्नारायण प्रसा
- 33 द समासादित वरवराहलाञ्छने क्षण क्षण वजीकृ<sup>22</sup>ताराति मण्डलानां मन्त्रमेधा
- 34 वधुय स्ना[न\*] पवित्रीकृत वपुषां चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकारिणोः सत्याश्रयवल्लभे
- 35 द्र स्तस्य भ्राता कुब्जविष्णुवर्द्धनोष्टादशवर्षाणि वेंगीदेश मपालयत् [<sup>19</sup>\*)तदात्मजो ज
- 36 र्यसिंहवल्लभ अयर्त्तिशतं । तदनुज इंद्रराजः सप्तदिनानि । तत्सुतो विष्णुव-

14. Read 'प्रभृतिष्व' 15. Read 'ष्वयो' 16. Read गतेषु 17. Read विजगीषतया

18. The letters 'दिवेमु' have been left out carelessly by the Scribe.

19 Read 'प्रतिदत्त्वा' 20 Sloka 'Anushtup. 21 Read 'भुवन' 22. Read 'वशीकृता'

Third plate, First side.

- 37 इन्नो नववर्षाणि तत्सूनुर्भगि युवराजः पंचविंशतिं तत्पुत्रौ जयसिंहस्त्रयो  
 38 दश तदवरजः कोकिलः षण्मासान् तस्यज्येष्ठभ्राता विष्णुवर्द्धनः<sup>23</sup> स्तमुच्चाटय सप्त  
 39 विंशतमब्दान् तत्पुत्रो विजयादित्य भट्ट[1\*]रकोष्टादश । तत्सुतो विष्णुवर्द्धनः<sup>24</sup> षट्त्रिं  
 40 शतं तत्तनयो नरेन्द्रमृगराजाष्टचत्वारिंशतं तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनो ष्यद्ध  
 41 वर्षं तत्सुतो गुणगाविजयादित्य अतुष्टत्वारिंशतं । तद्भ्रातुर्विक्रमादित्यस्य तन  
 42 य आलुक्क्यभीम विंशतं तत्सुतः कोल्लभिगण्ड विजयादित्यः षण्मा  
 43 सात् तत्सूनु रम्मराजः सप्तवर्षाणि तत्सुतं विजयादित्यं बालमुच्चा  
 44 टय ताडपोद्गासमेकं तं जित्वा चालुक्य भीमतनयो विक्रमादित्य एकादश मासा  
 45 न् तत्ताडपराजसुतो जुद्धमल्लः<sup>25</sup> सप्तवर्षाणि[1\*] तं<sup>26</sup> युद्धमल्लं परिहृत्य देशात्पिष्टे  
 46 रेषामपि शात्रवाणां क्षमामम्मराजानुज राजभीमो भीमस्समा द्वादशरक्षति स्म॥ [७\*]  
 47 26 दानार्णवाम्नृपयो द्वे स्तत्तनयौ रपत<sup>27</sup> । कनीयानम्मनृपातेः क्षमामब्दानि  
 पंचविंशतिं ॥ [८\*]  
 48 28 इमातु रोम्म राजस्य राजभीमसुतो महीं । समर

Third plate, Second side.

- 49 क्षत्समास्तिस्रः श्रीमान्दानार्ण<sup>29</sup> वोनृपः । [९\*] 30 अनुदानार्णवा दासीद्वय  
 दुश्चेष्टया ततः  
 50 सप्तविंशति वर्षाणि वैगिभूमि रनायिका<sup>31</sup> १ (१०\*) 32 अत्रांतरे दाननरेन्द्र सूनुः  
 श्री शक्तिवर्मा  
 51 सुरराट् सुधर्मा [1\*] य इशौर्य शक्त्या विनिहत्य शत्रून् स द्वादशाब्दा न्समरक्ष  
 दुर्वीम् ॥ [११\*] 34 तत स्तदनुजो  
 52 वीरोविमलादित्यभूपतिः । महीमण्डल सांभ्राज्य<sup>35</sup> प्राप्यलक्ष्मीं मुदादधात्<sup>36</sup> ॥ (१२\*)  
 37 तेजोयदीय

23 Read 'विष्णु'

24 Read 'युद्धमल्लः'

25 Metre Injra vajra

26 Metre sloka Anushtubh

27 The reading here is extremely doubtful and

incorrect. I restore the reading of the text thus tentatively: 'इस्ति तनया वपतताम्'

28 Metre Anushtubh

29 Read 'दानार्णवा'

30 Metre Anushtubh

31 Read 'नायका'

32 Metre Indravajra

33 Read 'क्षति'

34 Sloka Anushtubh

35 Read 'सांभ्राज्य'

36 Read 'मुदादधात्'

37 Metre Vasantatilaka

- 53 माखिलःक्षितिपालमौलिमालास्वभादमलरत्नरुचिच्छलेन[1\*]पातिस्म सप्तससमा स्सकला  
 54 न्धारित्री [भीम\*]प्रतापमहितोबिरुदांकभीमः॥ (१३\*) तस्य<sup>38</sup> श्रीमानात्मजो राजराजो  
 55 राजचेज अन्द्रवंशाभगण्यः । सैका चत्वारिंशतः वत्सराणि क्षोणीं रक्षादक्षणो र  
 56 क्षातिस्म ॥ [१४\*] अपिच । विमलादित्या<sup>39</sup> बोहान्वयैकलक्ष्म्याश्च मेडव महादेव्याः।  
 • अजनि ज  
 57 यश्री निलोविजयादित्यो नरेश्वर स्तुत्यः ॥ (१५\*) परोक्षे<sup>40</sup> राजराजस्य भ्रातु द्वैमातु  
 रस्य य(\*:\*) । प्र  
 58 त्यग्रही न्महीराज्यश्रियं वीरश्रियायुतः ॥ (१६\*) यशशैव्येण<sup>41</sup> हरिं जयेनविजयं स  
 59 तेन धर्मात्मजं । चारित्तेषमनुं समिद्धमहसामानुं धिराभारगवं सौदव्येण  
 60 मनोमुवं शृशमघःकुर्वन् जगद्गीतया । कीर्त्या निर्मलया विभ्राति विजयी चा  
 61 लुक्क्य वंशोत्तमः ॥ [१७\*] तस्य श्रीदीयतस्य हैहयकुल क्षीराब्धे लब्धो<sup>42</sup> दय  
 इभीमूर्त्तिस्सम

*Fourth plate, First side.*

- 62 पादि मादवमहादेव्याश्चयोनन्दनः।अष्टाभिःकविभिर्दिगंतविश्रुतो द्रष्टोभिमाशु<sup>43</sup>श्चिरं यो  
 63 व्याधात्समनन्तशक्ति<sup>44</sup>सहितः श्रीशक्ति<sup>45</sup>वर्म्मानुपः ॥ (१८\*)<sup>46</sup>गुणवसुनिधि संख्यां  
 याति श(1\*)कान्दवर्गे दिव  
 64 सकृति तुलास्थेयो दधाद्राज्यलक्ष्मीं । स्थिरतरमनुराधा शुक्लपक्षद्वितीयायुजि सुरगुरुवा  
 65 रे कुंभलम्भेभक्षितः<sup>47</sup> ॥ (१९\*)<sup>48</sup>योरुख स्वकमादरादिततरामुत्तुंगसिंहासनं । पित्रा  
 निर्जितं शास्त्र  
 66 वेण विजयादित्येन नित्यौजसा । पुत्रस्नेहरसप्रपूर्णा<sup>49</sup> मनसा सांभ्राज्य<sup>50</sup> पट्टंमुवो ।  
 67 यस्मिन्नप्यिति<sup>51</sup>मायुगं समवत व्यायेन सर्वाः प्रजाः॥ (२०\*)<sup>52</sup>यस्मिन्क्षति राजानि  
 68 धरणीं धर्म्मरतिर्भयं प्रापात् । अन्योन्यः प्रियकार्येष्वासाक्ति र्सतत प्रजाश्च  
 69 भवति ॥ (२१\*)<sup>53</sup>व्याप्ते यस्यसमुज्ज्वलेन यशसा दिक्चक्रवाले हिमप्रद्युतद्युति ता  
 70 रहारहसित क्षीरोदपूराश्रियो । सैन्दूरै रतिसांद्रेणुपटलैः कुंभस्थले पट्ट

38 Metre Indravajra.

39 Metre Giti.

40 Metre Anushtubh.

41. This and the following sloka are in Metre Sardulavikridita.

42 Read 'लब्धो'

43 The reading is doubtful

44 Read 'शक्ति'

45 Read 'शक्ति'

46 Metre Malini

47 Read 'लम्भेभिक्षितः'

48 Metre Sardulavikridita.

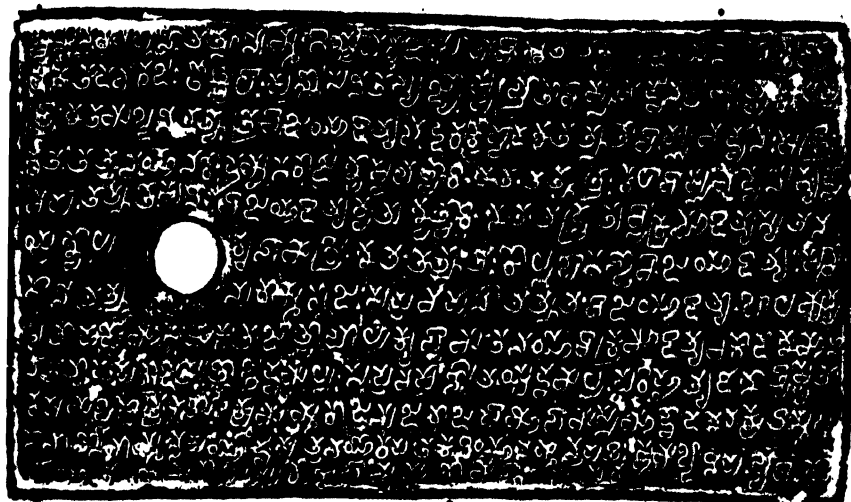
49 Read 'प्रपूर्ण'

50 Read 'सांभ्राज्य'

51 The reading is doubtful. 52 Metre s'oka Aryagiti. 53 Metre Sardulavikridita.

TELUGU ACADEMY PLATES OF S'AKTIVARMAN II.

*Third Plate : First Side.*

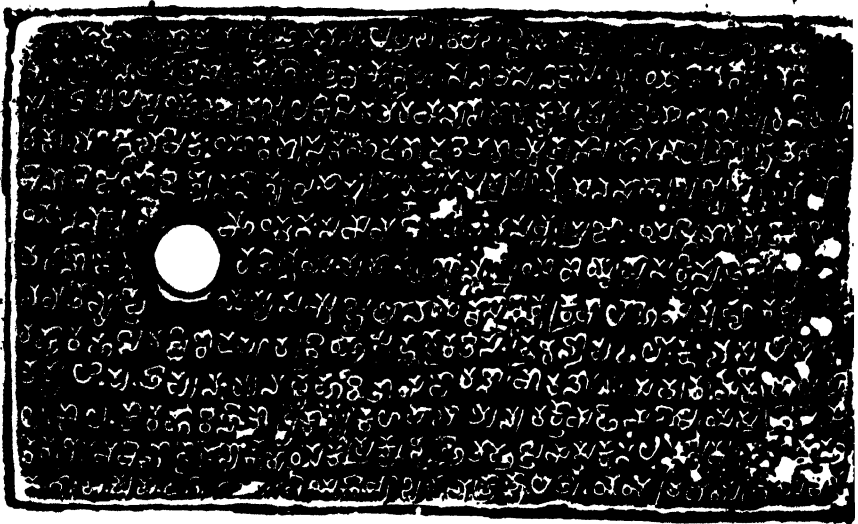


*Third Plate : Second Side.*

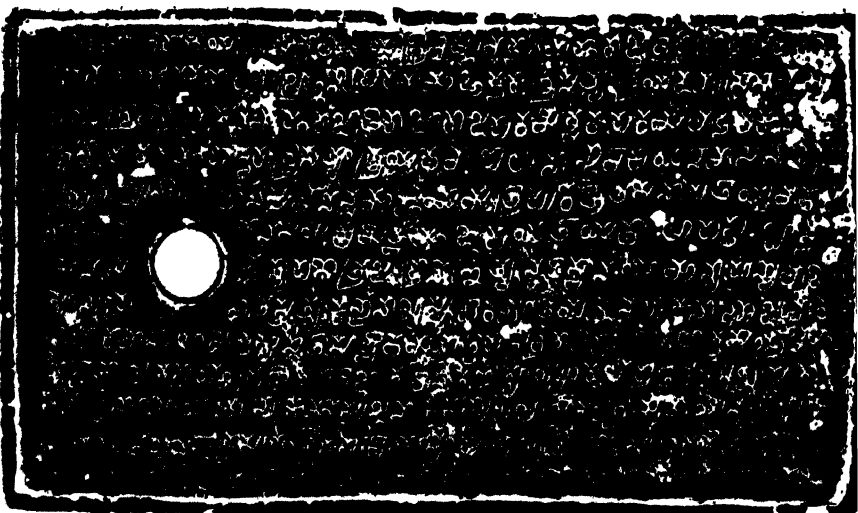




*Fourth Plate : First Side.*



*Fourth Plate : Second Side.*



- 71 के। ज्वालिपंति पुनःपुनश्च हरिता माधोरणावारणान् ॥ (२२\*)<sup>54</sup>मधुरा मधुरालापा  
 72 लंकालंकारहारिणी। कांक्षीकांक्षीकलामाभीतुनुरक्तामहिमहिषी<sup>54a</sup>॥ (२३\*)<sup>55</sup>यक्ष्मीसम  
 73 रैकभैरव विभोरोद्वेष्टाको<sup>56</sup> यक्षप्रक्ष स्नेहित हस्तिमस्तक गलन्मस्तिष्क क्वादा क्वादा  
 74 रद्राः पक्षपटलीसः। वियती व्यावद् चक्राश्चालति । योशालवभयाक्ष योत्रि

*Fourth plate, Second side.*

- 75 रतियुद्धेषु वीराश्रयः ॥ (२४\*) सव्वलोकश्रय श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धन महाराजाधिराज राजपरमे  
 76 श्वरः परमभट्टारकः परमब्रह्मण्यः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीसत्याश्रयदेवः ॥ सा सव्वल्लो  
 77 काश्रय श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धन महाराजाधिराजो राजपरमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परम  
 78 ब्रह्मण्यः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीसत्याश्रयदेवः ॥ प्रोलुनाण्ड विषयनिवासिनो राष्ट्र  
 79 कूट प्रमुखान् कुटुंबि नस्सर्वान्<sup>57</sup> न्समाहूय मंषिपुरोहित सेनापति युवराज  
 80 दौवारिक प्रधानसमक्ष मिथ्यमाज्ञापयति यथा ।<sup>58</sup> आपस्तंबान्वयः (\*)  
 81 श्रीमानासीत्काश्यपगोत्रजः । द्रोण इत्युज्जति[त\*] स्थानं योमान्यः पुण्यचारिभिः [२५\*]  
 82 तत्सूनुः पण्डितस्तुत्यः कण्ठेनाख्य स्सुधीरभूत् । यः कुन्दचंदनांभोज चारुकी  
 83 र्त्तिर्विभोरवान् ॥ (२६\*) आसीत्तस्यसती साध्वी धर्मपत्नी पतिव्रता । भिदाः केति  
 कुलोत्तंसा याशीलमदि  
 84 गुह्यमन्त्रिता ॥ [२७\*] जातस्तयोः<sup>59</sup> पाण्डव पारंजातो विनीत इत्यप्युक्ते प्रवीतः  
 मुख्यस्सतां स  
 85 नमति रर्पनाख्यो यः पुण्यकर्म्म सुजनाग्रणीयः ॥ [२८\*] अज्जितः<sup>60</sup> श्री मातायेन  
 स्वयं कष्टः[\*]  
 86 स्वकीयवत् ।<sup>61</sup> ब्रह्मभिश्च सुहृद्भिश्च संविभज्योपभुज्यते ॥ [२९\*] तस्मै सुधा  
 स्मद्भक्त्याय अ  
 87 ह्य अर्पणं नान्मा भवद्विषये नुमियवाड नामग्राम (म\*) प्रहारीकृत्य<sup>62</sup> कित्त<sup>63</sup> छेदि

54 Metre Anushtubh

55 Metre Sardulavikridita.

56 The text in lines 73 and 74 is full of mistakes as some letters have been omitted and therefore could not be corrected. 57 Read 'सर्वान्समाहूय'

58 This and the following slokas in ll. 82-84 are in Anushtubh metre.

59 Metre Upajati.

60 Metre Anushtubh

61 Read 'वन्धुभिश्च'

62 Read 'कृत्य'

63 Read 'कृत'

## Fifth plate, First side.

- 83 त्वनिमित्ते सौमप्रहर्णनिमित्ते धारापूर्वक मस्माभिर्दत्तमिति विदितमस्तुवः । अस्य  
 89 क्षेत्रसमीनः (ः\*) पूर्वतः चंदूरिद्वय गट्टु[ट्ट\*]नु नानजिकनूमय दूबय चंदूरिमा  
 90 न्यमुन पडुमटि दूबय । सीमा आग्नेयतः चंदूरिमान्यमुन पडन्दमान्य  
 91 मुनयु नडुमंबाळीन ए७० । सीमा दक्षिणतः पडन्दमान्यमुन उत्तरमुन ए  
 92 ७०नु दीनि पडुमटि जुव्विअनुनु । सीमा नैरुत्यतः पडदंपलिचे७०वुनकु कोनेमु  
 93 न इसुमु । सीमा पश्चिमतः कम्बरवाडितूर्पुन रेवटिइसुमुनू तंगगुण्टनू  
 94 पुन गडुनु यिदुलरेवडुनेल तूर्पुन पोलगरुसुनु इंदुल येन दूस  
 95 रिय तूर्पुन कालिय । सीमा वायव्यतः नुवुरुबारसिवाड पळ्ळि दक्षिणमुन  
 96 कालिय । सीमा उत्तरतः बारसिवाड दक्षिणमुन पोलगरुसुनु पोनुं बळ्ळिपोल  
 97 मुन पोलगरुसु चं दूरिवट्टु(?) दक्षिणमुन कट्टुनु यिन्दुलगडवु दक्षिणमुन जुव्विअनु  
 98 नु । सीमाएशान्यतः चंदूरिरेवडुनेल पडुमटि इसुम सीमा ॥ अस्योपरिनकेन चिद्धा  
 99 धार्कर्त्तव्या यः करोति सपंचमहापातकयुक्तो भवति । तथाचोक्तं भगवान् व्यसे  
 100 न ॥ ६४स्वदत्तां परदत्तोवा योहरंत वसुन्धरां षष्टिवर्षं सहस्र[१\*]णि विष्टा[यांजाय\*]

## Fifth plate, Second side.

- 101 यत्तेक्रिमिः ॥ (३०\*) बहुभिर्बहुसुधादत्ता बहुश्चानु पालिता । यस्य यस्य यदाभूमा  
 102 स्तस्यतस्य तदापलमिति ॥ (३१) [ज]त श्री ६५समरैक भैरव (नृपोयस्य ६६ प्रनस्य  
 मिष्टाज्ञातिः क  
 103 टकाधिपो क...यि ता नारायणाण्यो कविः । कामानाम्मय विश्वकर्म्मोद्भव शलः पट्ट  
 104 यात्.....यदेयमे तदा तत सा...गुर्वीसितं शा[सनम्] \* ॥ (३२\*)

## TRANSLATION.

Lines 1 to 54 are identical with the text of the Korumilli Plates of Rājārāja, (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 48ff.)

V. 14. His (Vimalāditya's) son, Rājārāja, the foremost of the race of the Moon (*Chandra vamsa*) protected the earth (kingdom) with great ability for full forty-one years.

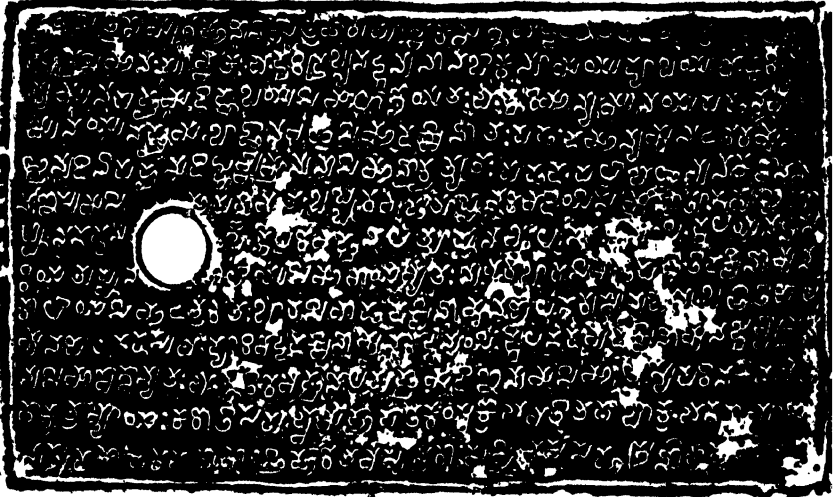
V. 15. And to Vimalāditya was born, from his queen Mēḍava-mahādēvī who was like the goddess Lākṣmī to the ocean (family) of the Chōlas, Vijayāditya, who was praised by all kings.

64 This and the following slokas are in *Anushtubh* metre.

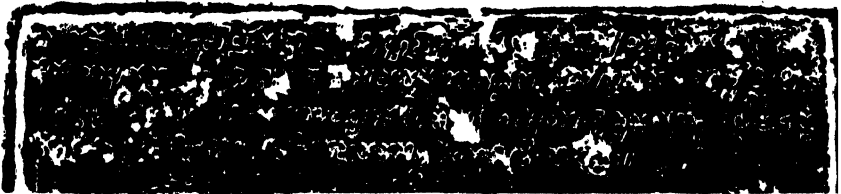
65 Metre *Sardulavikridita*.

65 Lines 102-104 are unintelligible except for a few words here and there, rendering the task of correcting the text difficult.

*Fifth Plate: First Side.*



*Fifth Plate: Second Side.*





V. 16. This prince Vijayāditya, who is a step-brother of Rājarāja, having been born of a different mother, captured the great kingdom of his brother with great valour, in his absence.

V. 17. He (Vijayāditya) is surpassing Hari (Viṣṇu) in valour, Dharmaja in truthfulness, Manu in character and eminence, Sun in splendour, Bhārgava in wisdom, Cupid in beauty, by making his fame spotless and pure and sung by the whole Universe, above all, as the victorious and the best of the race of the Chālukyas.

V. 18. Vijayāditya had, by his queen Mādava mahādēvi, who was like the goddess of fortune to the milk ocean of the race of the Haihayas, a son, who was the embodiment of fortune itself, who was praised till the farthest ends of the universe by his eight poets, whose birth was long looked for as the most auspicious event, who was endowed with great energy and prowess, who was like the moon, and who was called Śaktivarmā.

V. 19. When the Śaka year gained the number 983, represented by the *guṇa* = 3, *vasu* = 8, *nidhi* = 9,—and the Sun was in *Tula*, on Thursday, the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight, when the *nakṣatra* was *Anūrādhā* and in the *Kumba lagna*, he, (Śaktivarma) was crowned to the kingdom of Vēngi.

V. 20. Having been placed on the high throne of the kingdom of Vēngi by his father (Vijayāditya) who conquered for him all the enemies, who was full of glory, whose heart was filled with the deep emotion of love for his son, Śaktivarmā protected the kingdom and the people attained great prosperity.

V. 21. While he (Śaktivarma) was protecting the earth (kingdom) the people lived in great fear of sin, in profound reverence and love for the *dharma* and greatly desirous of doing mutual good and dear things to each other, and enjoyed unbroken progeny.

V. 22. His (Śaktivarma) glorious fame, which is like the moonlight, like the rays of the stars and the smile of the Lord, like the milk, and like the flow of water, having spread as far as the ends of this Universe, even the elephants that bore it turned white and the mahouts are painting their front-plates thickly with the particles of red colour, every now and then.

V. 23. Like his queen, the kingdom was sweet and uttering sweet words, beautiful being decked with ornaments (riches and prosperity), lovely and charming, and very loving like the beloved.

V. 24. He, the *Samaraika Bhairava*, victorious in war,—the very terror of his enemies, whose mace burst open the heads of rutting war elephants,—roams on the victorious battlefields full of valour.

Ll. 75—80. He is the *Sarvalōkāśraya*, Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Paramabrahmaṇya*, *Paramamāheśvara*, *Satyāśrayadēva*. He, the *Sarvalōkāśraya*, Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Paramabrahmaṇya*, *Paramamāheśvara*, *Satyāśrayadēva*.—having called together the cultivators and the heads of the villages (*Kuṭumbinaḥ* and *Raṣṭrakūṭa pramukhān*) to assemble, commands thus, in the presence of *mantri*, *purohita*, *senāpati*, *yuvarāja*, *dauvārika* and *pradhāna*:—

V. 25. There is born in the family of Āpastamba (follower of the *sūtra* of Āpastamba) and in the Kāśyapagotra, Drōṇa who was a very noble person, and of very high position and great character. His son was Kanṭhena, who is praised by learned men, as a virtuous man.

V. 26. His consort, born of the *Bentikula*, was a virtuous and devoted wife, a noble lady, whose fame was as pure as the white lotus.

V. 27. To them was born in the *Ārya kula*, like the very heavenly flower *pārijāta* for the learned men, one, who is praised by all as great and one who is intent on doing meritorious deeds, and who is the foremost among the best men.

V. 28. He, who has taken pains for the cause of all as if it was his own, he, who enjoys his wealth along with his relatives and friends dividing it equally between them and himself.

Ll. 86 to 88. To him, Aḍapa Appana, who has taken great pains in my cause, who is my devoted and loyal servant, the village of Numiyavāḍa in your district (*Prōluḥāṇḍu*), has been given away by us after converting it into an *agrahāra*, on the occasion of the lunar eclipse, with the libation of water. Let this be known to you all.

Ll. 89—98. The boundaries for the village granted are : On the east, hill containing bamboo shrubs *Nāma* and *Dāba* of Chandūru, On the south-east, a stream flowing between fields (*mānyāmu*) of Chandūru and Paḍanda (village?) On the south, stream flowing into the field (*mānyāmu*) of Paḍanda. To its north and to its west a *Ficus infectoria* (*Juvvi*). To the south-west, Sands at the end of the Tank of Paḍandaṃpali (village). On the west, alluvial soil to the east of Babbaravāḍi (village) and a small stream flowing on the east of Tūṅagunṭa (village) and a canal flowing to the east of the boundary of Naḍugūru (village). On the north-west, the mountain torrent of Nuvuru Bārasivāḍa and to its south, the boundary fields cultivated by the mountain stream and a band of Chandūru on its south and the intervening land between them and a *Ficus infectoria* (*Juvvi*) tree to its south. On the north-east, alluvial soil of Chandūru and sands to its west.

Ll. 88—102. Usual imprecatory verses.

V. 32 (Here the writing is all mutilated.) This grant was executed by the Katakādhpati, Ka . . . ya and composed by the poet Nārāyaṇārya and inscribed by Ammaya, son of Komāna of the Viśvakarma *kula*. etc.

#### POSTSCRIPT

I felt a doubt whether my restoration of the text, in line 47 above was sound and correct, since writing the above. I think the line can be restored in the following manner only: दानार्णवाम्म नृपयौ द्वौतत्तनया वपात् ।  
This restoration seems to be reasonable and probable. If the poet or the composer of the grant wanted us to understand that there were murders of each other's sons, he would not have inserted this fact in metre along with the fact that "the younger prince Amma (II.) ruled the kingdom for twenty-five years." He would have put this statement in a separate sentence after stating that Ammarāja reigned for twenty five years, with some amount of clearness of expression. As the text now is, the sequence is that Rāja Bhima had two sons, Dānārṇava and Ammanṛpa, and of these, the younger one Amma protected the earth for twenty five years. Immediately after this follows another anuṣṭubh which records that Dānārṇava reigned for three years afterwards. As the text stands, there is no place for stating that Amma and Danārṇava murdered each other's sons even before the fact of Ammarāja's reign is stated. I believe that the restoration made by me originally is untenable and hold that there were no murders by Dānārṇava and Amma, at any time in the reign of the last named prince. The text as restored now by me clearly states: "He (Raja-Bhima II.) had two sons, Dānārṇava and Ammanṛpa, and the younger Amma protected the earth (kingdom) for twenty five years." I do not think in the light of this new interpretation even, I need alter my conclusion about the last days of Amma II that, "for some unknown cause all the relations of Amma on his queen's side, led by Gaṇḍa Nārāyaṇa Bhāskara changed colours and joined Bādapa who invaded Vēṅgi and conquered it with the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas."



## HISTORY OF PADMANAIKS.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

An old Palmyrah leaf Manuscript, containing 25 leaves, each measuring  $14" \times 1\frac{1}{6}"$  in size and containing 5 or 6 lines of Telugu matter written on both the sides, was presented 2 years back to the Museum of the Society by Mr. Vemury Viswanadha Sarma, M. A., L. T. It reveals the origin and the history of the Padmanaiks. It opens with the description of the exploits of Kākati Pratāpa Rudra Mahārājah and states that by serving him, the *Kāpus* became *Velama-Kammās*, and finally came to be styled *Padmajas* or, *Padmanaiks*. They are called *Velamas* whose warlike qualities are much praised in the work. 77 Gōtras are stated and they are named mostly after places. The titles of these 77 Gotras and the reasons for the same, are next explained. These appear more or less boastful and vain. One title, *Kākati Rāja Rājya Sthāpanāchārya* is, however, significant. The terms, Kākati and Kākita, are both used. The Gōtra named Pallava and the titles Pallava Chakravarti and Pallava Trinētra are also significant showing the attempts made by the Chiefs to connect themselves with powerful ruling tribes of the past. The title '*Ahavamalla Rājya Sthāpanāchārya*' might probably refer to the help given by these Padmanaiks to the Western Chalukyas, before the Kakatiyas became independent and powerful. After the fall of the Western Chalukyan power, they seem to have become the loyal vassals and ruling chiefs under the Kakati Mahārājahs.

After describing the titles of the 77 Gōtras of the *Velamas*, the work states that the *Padmajas* or *Padmanaiks* numbering 77, loyally served their master Pratāpa Rudra Kākatēswara and when influenced by the King of Gauḍa, the Yavanas, the Marāṭas, the Gurjaras, and the Maḷavas, besieged Orugallu or Ēka Śīla Nagaram (Modern Warrāngal) they collected a force of 9 lacs and drove them off. Hence, for their courage and warlike deeds, the Kakati King gave them several presents and titles.

The remaining part of the work is purely descriptive of the qualities and duties, of the *Velamas* or *Padmajas*. The ruler of Dehli, the Turki ruler of Bhamini Kingdom, the Kalinga ruler, the Pandyan and the Bengal ruler, all alike, are described as having been terrified by the deeds of Padmanaiks.

The work closes with a poetic description of Orugallu, the Capital of Pratapa Rudra who is said to have ruled for 36 years and worshipped Sreesaila Mallikārjuna.

Originally, a certain Baḍabāgni Bhaṭṭa wrote this work and Bhimana prepared a Sanskrit Version of it.

## TWO NEW COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF VIJAYADITYA J.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

### History of the Plates.

• These two new sets of copper plates, with rings and seals in tact, discovered somewhere in West Godavari District nearly two years' back were placed in my hands by the learned President of the Society, Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu • B.A., B.L. for decipherment and publication in this *Journal*, and hence, I express my deep debt of gratitude to him for the kindness. The two sets are now deposited in the Telugu Academy, Cocanada of which our learned President is the Chairman. The impressions of the two sets of plates, which were taken by me after a difficult process of cleaning, are now deposited, as usual, in the Museum of the Society, for kind perusal of Members and Public. Of the two sets, the first is bigger and heavier than the second. Its weight is  $97\frac{1}{2}$  tolas, while that of the second is  $52\frac{1}{2}$  only. The diameter, of the rings of both sets is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches and of the seals 2 inches and the circumference 1 foot, each. The length and breadth of a plate of the first set are 7" and  $3\frac{1}{4}$ " respectively, while those of second set are  $6\frac{3}{4}$ " and 3" respectively. The thickness of a plate of the first set is  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch, while that of the second is  $\frac{1}{8}$  only. Hence, the great difference in weight between the two sets.

• Each set contains 3 plates, and near the left hand edge centre of each, a hole is made, through which passes the ring, the two ends of which are soldered into a circular Seal, which contains a Crescent at the top, the legend 'Śrī Tribhuvanāmkūśa' in the middle, and an expanded Lotus flower at the bottom.

### A Previously discovered Copper Plate Inscription of the King.

So far, only one copper plate grant of this king was discovered and noticed in the *Annual Report* on South Indian Epigraphy for 1916-1917 on pages 11 and 116. This record of Vijayāditya Mahārāja contains also 3 plates measuring  $6\frac{1}{4}$ "  $\times$   $2\frac{2}{3}$ " each. The Seal of that record also contains a Crescent at top, the legend Śrī Tribhuvanāmkūśa in the middle and an expanded Lotus at the bottom, with an Amkūśa on the side. The same geneology of the Eastern Chālukya line, as is found in the present plates, viz., Maṅgiyavarāja and his son Viṣṇuvardhana and his son, Vijayāditya, is given. The king granted "Śakharambu", a village in Velnādu Viśaya (Guntur District) to a resident of Kāraṇchēdu named

Dēvaśarmā of Hārīti Gōtra, on a lunar eclipse day in *Uttarāyana*. The date 763 A.D. is ascribed to the grant.

### Alphabet and language of the Plates.

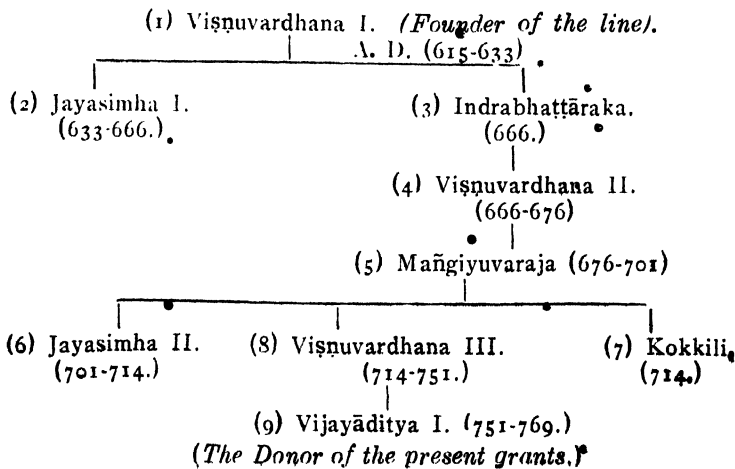
The first side of the first plate and the second side of the third, plate in both sets, do not contain any writing as it is their purpose to serve as covers. Excepting the first side of the third plate in the second set which contains only 6 lines, all other sides contain 7 lines of matter, each, so that the first set contains 28 lines, while the second only 27 lines.

The alphabet used in both sets of grants is old Telugu or, *Tel-Kannada Lipi*, as it is called. The language of both sets is in Sanskrit prose, except for the usual Vyāsa Slokas found in the concluding portion of each grant. The first set is not written so correctly or carefully as the second one. In the first set, first plate, second side, in lines 2, and 6, *pūrnānṣvāra* is omitted after *putrānā*, *rājyānā* and *kuṭūmala* while in the same set, second plate, first side, in line 3, the letter *na* is not inscribed after the word, *niravadhyadārāgu*. In both the sets, the use of *anunāsika* in the place of *pūrnānṣvāra* is resorted to, as is usual in all the grants of the age, vide, *lañchana*, *Srīmaṅgi*, *Maṇḍala*, *Kuṭumbīra*, *Kṣētram*, *Dattam*, *Pañcha* in lines 4, 6, 7, 14, 20, 21 and 23.

In the first set, in lines 15, 20, 21 and 28, and in the second set, in lines 11, 15, 18 and 19, the peculiar letter called Śakaṭa rēpha or Baṁdi *ra* is inscribed. The earliest form of the letter is found here. It is marked 'r' in the 2 inscriptions.

### History of the King's Line.

The following geneology of the Eastern Chālukya line is known to us from the copper plate grants of these kings published so far :—



The Donor according to his 3 Sets of Plates, has got the titles, *Samasta bhuvanāśraya*, *Chakravarti*, *Parama-brāhmaṇya*, *Parama-māheśvara*, *Vijayasidhi*, *Bhaṭṭāraka*, *Vikramarāmd*, *Tribhuvanāṃkusa*, which clearly show that he attained Sovereign power over the whole of *Vēṅgi-Rājya*, extending from modern Vizagapatam District to Nellore District, along the east coast, and in the interior, to the region where the tributary, *Mūsi* joins the main river, *Krishṇa*. While the Bay of Bengal bounded on the east, the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom lay to the north, the Pallava to the south and the *Raṣṭrakūṭā* to the west. The last power just then rose by a successful revolt against the Western *Chālukyas* and even tried to extinguish the Eastern *Chālukyas*. From the Alaṣ Plates of Govinda II, published in Ep. Indica, Vol 6, P. 208, we learn that that *Raṣṭrakūṭā* king invaded in A.D. 769 the dominions of the Eastern *Chālukya* king *Vijayāditya I.* and gained a victory near the confluence of the rivers *Mūsi* and *Krishṇa* and forced the Eastern *Chālukya* king to cede the Western Districts along with a heavy war fine. All the same, it would appear that *Vijayāditya I.* could hold his own ground, as attested by the several grants he made and the great titles he bore. For thirty years or more, this dynastic war was continued in successive reigns in both the dynasties until the *Raṣṭrakūṭās* were finally exhausted and forced to give up their dream of extirminating the Eastern *Chālukya* line of *Vēṅgi*.

#### Subject-matter of the Plates.

The first 12 lines in both the sets are practically one and the same, and again the first sides of the last plates in both sets are also identical, except for the additional mention in the very last line of the first set, of the name 'Bhaurama', the executor of the Plates. Lines 13 to 21 naturally differ in both the sets as they mention the different districts and villages, the heads and cultivators of which were assembled and informed of the king's order. Lines 15 to 17 are somewhat common as the donee in both grants is one and the same. The village *Vargiparu*, the *gōtra* *Bhāradvāja*, and the geneology of the Donee *Mādhavaśarmā II.*, who is the son of *Śivaśarmā* and grand son of *Mādhavaśarmā*, as mentioned in both sets of the plates, are practically identical but the accomplishments of the Donee are differently described in the two sets and from this difference, an important conclusion must be made, viz., the second set is later in date than the first because by the time the first set was written, the donee was able to recite only two Vedas. In other words, the same Donee belonging to the same place receives at first, on the occasion of the lunar eclipse, the grant of *Aṣṭakhaṇḍika* extent of field and at a later period, on the occasion of solar eclipse, the grant of *Dvādaśakhaṇḍika* extent of field, free of all taxes and obstacles, in both cases. In lines 19 to 21 in the first set and 18 to

in the second set, the boundaries of the fields granted are given with great detail in old Telugu language. In the first set, the field granted lies to the west of Gommalūru village in Gudrahāra Viṣaya (modern Gudivada and Bandar Taluks in Kistna District). In the second set, the field granted lies to the east of Dinakaḍu village in Prakuṇōra Viṣaya (modern Guntur Taluk). In both the cases, the resident cultivators and village heads of the concerned villages were summoned and informed of the fact of the grants and of the conditions under which they were made, so that proper protection and care might be bestowed on them.

In the concluding portions of both sets, the usual Vyaśa śloka are mentioned so that future kings might reap all the benefits by preserving them and suffer disgrace and ruin by destroying them.

#### TEXT OF FIRST SET OF PLATES.

##### First Plate, Second Side.

1. Svasti Śrīmatāṁ sakala bhuvana sarṁstūyamāna Mānavyasa gō
2. ttrāṇāṁ Hārītiputrāṇā(m) Kauśikīvaraprasādabdhārājyāna(m) mātrgaṇa
3. paripālītāṇāṁ Svāmi-Mahāsenapādānuddhyātāṇāṁ BhagavanNārāyaṇa-
4. prasāda-samāsādita vara-Varāha-lāmcchanē kṣaṇa-kṣaṇa vaśikr-
5. tārāti-maṇḍalāṇāṁ Aśvamēdhāva bhṛtha snāna-pavitrikṛta-vapu
6. śāṁ Chalukyanāṁ kula-mala(m) kariṣṇo Śrī Maṅgi Yuvarājasya-priya
7. nija-bhuja-bala-vārjitāsēṣa-bhūpāka-maṇḍalasya anēka-tulādhṛta

##### Second Plate, First Side,

8. suvarṇa-dāna-varddhitāva-dāta-kīrttiḥ Sarvvalōkāśraya Śrī-Viṣṇuvardha
9. na Mahārājasya priyatanayah śapratāpāvanata samasta-sā
10. manṭa-chakraśchakravarttiḥ lakṣaṇōpētō niravadyōdāra gu(ṇa)gaṇālāṁ
11. paramabrahmaṇyaḥ parama Māhēśvarō mātā pitṛ pādānu dhyāta
12. sSamasta-bhuvanāśraya Śrī Vijayāditya Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśva
13. ra-Bhāṭṭarakah Gudrahāra viṣayē Gommalūru-nāma-grāma-madhivasatō
14. Rāṣṭrakūṭapramukhāṅkuṭumbinassarvaṇ itthamājñāpayaṭi Viditamastu-

##### Second Plate, Second Side.

15. vōsmābhiḥ Vargiparuvāstavyāya Bhāradvāja gōtrāya Mādhava
16. Chaturvēdi Sarmmaṇaḥ pautṛāya Vēdavedāṅgavide Śivaśarmmaṇaḥ
17. ya Vēdadvayādhyāyina tadgyajñōdēvasya Mādhavaśarmmaṇē
18. nana nimitte udakapūrvam kṛtvā Aṣṭakaṇḍikā dravāvāpa prāmā
19. pa-kṣētrā sarvakaraparihāreṇa dattam Purvataḥ Chittērugūta maṭṭa
20. bu Dakṣiṇataḥ Sēṇḍarūbāya kṣētram Paschimataḥ Kōḍu Utara
21. taḥ Ppāṇḍarābu ētēsāṁ chaturāvadhī madhyavartī-kṣētram grāmā pa

ko-dra/tra  
Pashandarambala

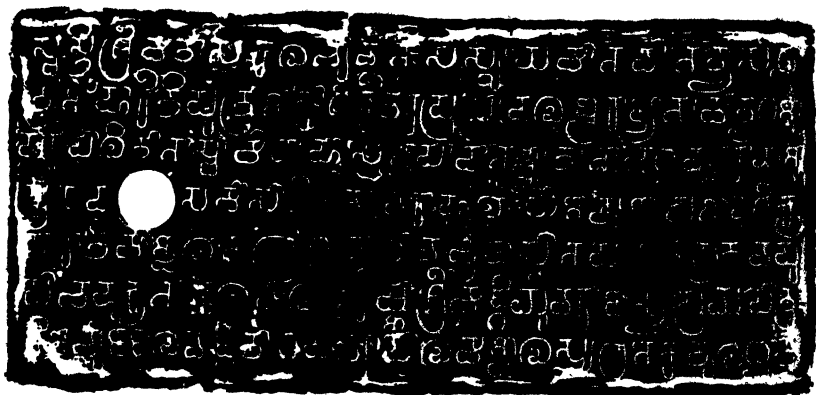
TWO NEW COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF VIJAYADITYA I.

First Set.  
SEAL



(Actual Size).

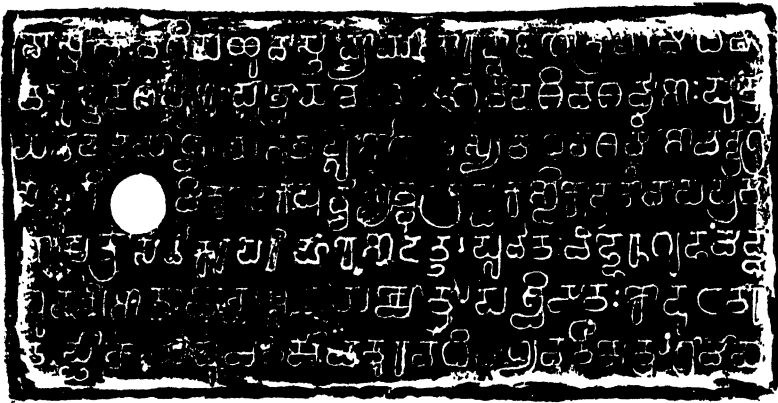
First Plate, Second Side.



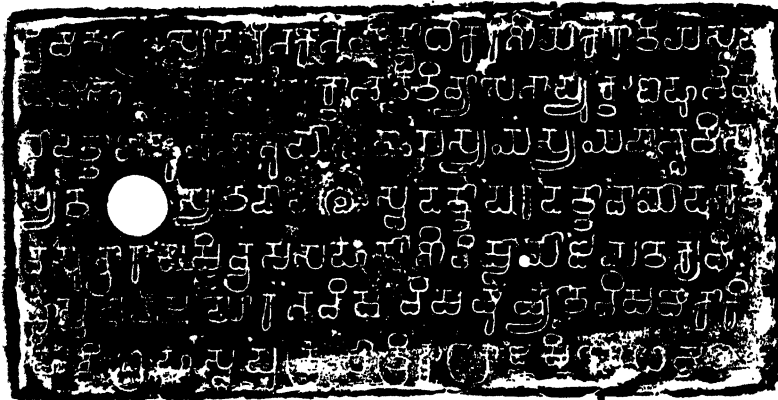
Second Plate, First Side.



Second Plate, Second Side.



Third Plate, First Side.



(Scale reduced to half size)

*Third Plate, First Side, karāṇiṃyā yā Ka*

22. śchimataḥ || Asyōpari nakēnachid bādḥā karāṇiṃyā karōti | yassa pa  
 23. űcha mahāpātaka saṃyuktō bhavati Vyās nāpyuktam | Bahubhir vasu  
 24. dhā dattā bahubhiśchānupālītā yasya yasya yadā bhūmi sta  
 25. sya tasya tadāphalaṃ | Svadattam paradattamvā yōharēta *datte*  
 26. Vasundhārām ṣaṣṭivvarṣa sahasrāṇi viṣṭāyam jāyatē krmih | Bra *y*  
 27. hma svantya viṣam ghōram naviṣa | viṣa muchyatē viṣamēkākī nam *su*  
 28. harṃti Brahmasvaṃ putra pautri kaṃ || Ājñāpti Bhaurama Śrī. *Bo*

TRANSLATION.

Ll. 1-12. Hail Prosperity! Śrī Vijayāditya—who is a Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara and Bhaṭṭāraka; who is the refuge of all the worlds; who is the devotee of the feet of (his) mother and father; who is a Parama-Brahmaṇya and Parama-Māhēśvara; who is adorned with good features and with combination of unalloyed good virtues, who is the Emperor of the entire vassal group of princes subdued by his valour; who is the dear son of Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja who is the refuge for all the worlds, who has his pure fame increased by granting *Suvarṇās* weighed in several scales and who has the entire circle of ruling princes subdued by the strength of his own shoulders; who is the dear grandson of Śrī Maṅgi Yuvarāja who adorned the family of the Chālukyās who have their bodies purified by the ablutions performed after celebrating horse sacrifices; who have had the provinces of the enemies subdued instantaneously at the sight of the excellent crest of Boar which was acquired through the favour of the Divine Nārāyaṇa; who meditate on the feet of Svāmi Mahāsēna; who are protected by the troop of the Seven Mothers; who obtained the kingdom by the excellent favour of Kausiki; who are the sons of Hārīti; who are of the lineage of Mānava which is praised throughout the whole world  
 Ll. 13-21.—Orders, as follows, all the cultivators and chief headmen living in the village called Gommaḷūru in the District of Gudrahāra:—Let it be known! By me was given, with libation of water, eight *Khandīs* of land together with crops, free from all taxes, on the occasion of lunār eclipse, to Mādhavasarma who is well versed in the recital of two Vēdas and who is the son of Śivaśarma who knows Vēdas and Vēdaṅgas and who is the grandson of Mādhava-chaturvēdi-śarma and who belongs to Bhāradvāja *gotra* and who is a resident of Vargiparu. (Boundaries thus:) To the East: Chittērugutā upland. To the South: Sēndaṛubāya field; To the West: Kōḍu or, low land; To the North: Ppāṇḍarābu or, waste land. The land lying between the aforesaid four boundaries is to the West of the village.

Ll. 22-28. Regarding this—the land lying between the aforesaid four boundaries—nobody shall cause any injury; whoever causes any injury shall be treated as having committed the 5 Great Sins. Vyasa also has said thus: The earth has been granted by many; whoever at



any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward of this grant now made, if he continues it. Whoever confiscates the land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years. The wealth of a Brahmin is deadly poison; not so, the ordinary poison. Ordinary poison kills but one person but a Brahmin's wealth destroys the whole family, root and branch. Ājñāpti (Executor of the Grant) is Bhaurama.

#### TEXT OF SECOND SET OF PLATES.

##### *First Plate, Second Side.*

1-7 lines are same as those found in the first set, first plate, second side.

##### *Second Plate, First Side.*

8-12 lines are same as those found in the first set, second plate, first side.

13. mēṣvara Bhaṭṭārakah Prakunōravishaya Dinakādu nāma Grāma madhi

14. vasatō Raṣṭrakūṭa pramukhān kuṭumbinassarvān itthamājñāpayati vi

##### *Second Plate, Second Side.*

15. ditamastu Vōsmābhih Varjiparu vāstavyāya Bhāradvāja sagōtrāya,

16. Mādhava chaturvēdi pautrāya Sivāya chaturvēdi putrāya Mādha

17. va chaturvēda śravanādvēdi Sūryagrahaṇa nimittē grāma purva

18. taṁ asyōvadhih Purvatah Meṭṭapaṇṇati pulam karusu Da

19. kṣiṇatah Vallēniyā kṣētram Paścimatāh chirāti chēla Uta

20. ratah Maganachēnu Dvādaśakhaṇḍivrihi vāpa pūrvēṇam kṣētram udaka

21. purvaṁ sārvaakaraparihārēṇa dattaṁ ētēśaṁ chaturavadhi madhya  
kṣētram

##### *Third Plate, First Side.*

22-27 lines are same as those found in the first set, third plate, first side, excepting the mention of the name of Ājñāpti in the end.

#### TRANSLATION.

Lines 1-12 Same as before.

13-21—Orders as follows all the cultivators and chief headmen living in the village of *Dinakādu*, in *Prakunōra Vishaya*:—Let it be known! By me was granted, with libation of water, twelve *Khaṇḍis* of land together with crops free from all taxes, on the occasion of Solar eclipse, to Mādhava who knows the recital of the four Vēdas and who is the son of Chaturvēdi Sivāya and grand-son of Chaturvēdi Mādhava and who belongs to Bhāradvāja Gōtra and who is a resident of Varjiparu. The land granted lies to the east of the village. Its boundaries (are as follows): East—Elevated stone boundary; South—*Vallēni* field; West—Stone heap; North—Plain field.

22-27 Same as before, excepting the mention of the name of Ājñāpti in the end,

TWO NEW COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF VIJAYADITYA I.

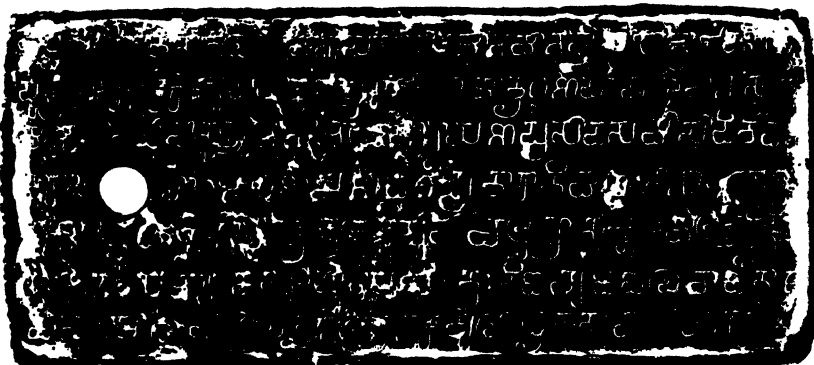
Second set.

SEAL.

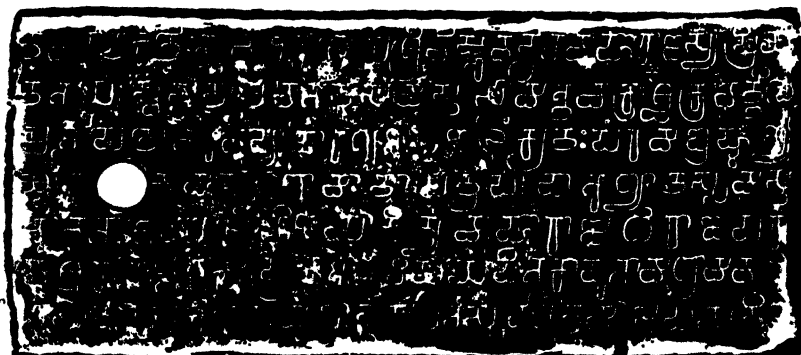


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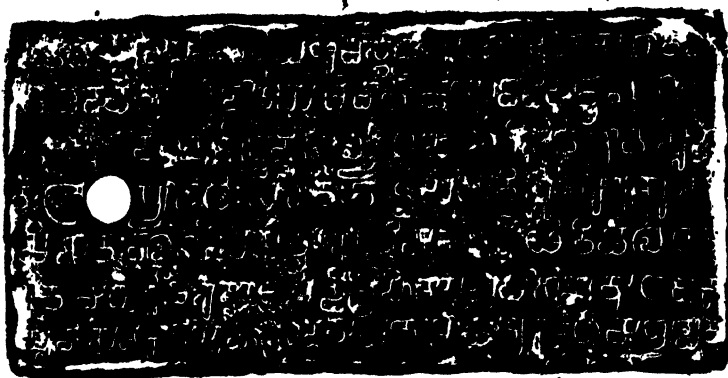
First plate, Second side.



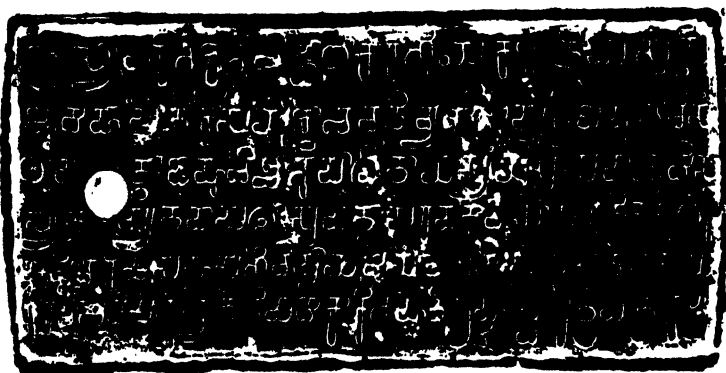
Second plate, First side.



Second plate, Second side.



Third plate, First side



(Scale reduced to half size.)

## ANDHRA COINS.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

The *Aitareya Brahmana*, a work composed long before 500 B.C., mentions the tribe of the Andhras as having been cursed by Visvamitra to live on the fringe of the Aryan settlements, probably on the back of the Vindhya. Magasthenes who lived in the 4th quarter of 4th century B.C. as the Greek envoy at the Court of Chandragupta Maurya has mentioned them as second in power to the Mauryas. In the Asokan Edicts, they are actually grouped with Pitinikas, Pulindas and other Cis-Vindhyan tribes and described as obeying his laws. The Jatakas mention Andhrapura as situated on Telavaha river which forms the boundary between Madras Presidency and Central Provinces. The Purāṇas mention them as having uprooted, not only the Kaṇvas but also the Sungas who uprooted the Mauryas. The kings, who are described in the Purāṇas under the title of Andhras, are mentioned, in the inscriptions discovered in Nanaghat, Karle and Nasik caves in Western India, with the family name of Śātavāhana and the title of Śātakarṇi.

These Śātavāhanas, numbering 30 kings, ruled over the Andhras for a little over  $4\frac{1}{2}$  centuries and it would appear, from inscriptions and coins, that after Asoka's rule, when the Mauryan power began to decline, both the Kalingas, then under the Chedi dynasty to which Kharavela belonged and the Andhras, then under the Śātavāhana dynasty which was founded by Srimukha or Srisuka asserted their independence probably about 232 B.C. The inscription of Kharavela discovered in the Udayagiri hills on the east coast clearly proves that, about 180 B.C., the Sungas were ruling over Magadha, the Chedis over Kalinga and the Śātakarṇis over the Dekkan,

The early inscriptions and coins of the Śātavāhanas are found in the caves of Western India and it is therefore suggested that their rule started first on the North-West of the Dekkan and then extended along the Godavari and the Krishna Valleys to the East Coast.

From the discovery of the coins of the early kings in Malwa, Central India, Koṅkan and Mahārāṣṭra, it can be inferred that they established their political power at first over the Bhojas, Rāṣṭrikas, Mūṣikas and Mālavas of North-west Dekkan and then gradually spread it over the Andhras and the Karnātas.

The earliest coins are said to be punch-marked ingots, bearing dots or devices marked by a punch and belonging to 7th or 6th century B.C.

Punch coins bear letters of a legend which are each impressed by a punch. They appear long before the Die coinage is produced by the Andhras. As the art of coinage developed, the use of punch gave way to that of matrix or die. The plate is struck on a symbol placed below and then around this symbol, others are added leaving the other side plain. During the Chalukyan times, again, the punch coins such as the Varāhas and Padma-ṭankas appear. The punch marks are so many symbols of authority intended for securing their correctness and purity.

Later on, rectangular or circular flat pieces came to be cut from metal and they bear legends and devices on one side. Several devices of various sorts such as, human figures, arms, trees, birds, animals, Buddhist symbols, and solar signs, were impressed on *one side* of the coins. Thus, the earliest coins were handmade either by individual gold smiths or by merchant guilds and the punch-marks seem to be the result of circulation of coins from hand to hand.

Still later probably in the early centuries of Pre-Christian Era, the system of coinage was affected by Greek influences. The invasion of Alexander (326 Bc.), the Indo-greek and Indo-parthian settlements in the Panjab and Sind, the political and commercial contact between the Mauryan Emperors of India and the Greek Kings of the West, naturally had its effects on the systems of coinage then prevalent in the country.

In the first century A.D., Bhāmaka, Nahapana, Ushavadatta who all belong to a dynasty called Kshaharatta ruled over Malwa and Mahārāṣṭra which were evidently wrested from the Andhras. During their period, they endowed several grants and from their inscriptions, we learn that certain Buddhist monks were endowed with several thousands of *Karshapanas* (35 ks. = one Suvarṇa). Nahapana struck both silver and copper coins and the former resemble the Greek coins in point of weight size and fabric. (Cl. Jogalthambi hoard of 13,250 coins found at Nasik). On the obverse side, we get the head of the king and an inscription in Greeko-Roman characters. On the reverse side, we get arrow and a similar inscription containing name of the king. The use of this Numismatic evidence is that it gives us the true extent of his empire which comprises Malwa, Guzerat and Nasik Districts. Further, from the fact that the silver coinage of Nahapana was called *kuṣana*, we learn that he was the feudatary of Kushan kings, Khadphises I and II who ruled over N. W. India, in the middle of first century A. D. Lastly, from the shape of the head and the legends on the coins, we learn that the Greeko-Roman influences exerted themselves on Indian coinage.

To the last stage belong the Die coins. These were die struck unlike the earliest punch-marked coins which were cast in moulds (See 3 Dotted coins). Molten lead or billon was poured into a cavity formed by joining two moulds and the joints can be seen in some of the coins. (See I, b.)

This method was evidently given up as it was clumsy and costly and the die struck coins (See Lion coins) came into use. The die of a lion or elephant or chaitya was impressed on the metal when hot on one side only and gradually the die was applied on both sides and thus the double-die coins came into use, bearing the royal figure and name on one side and different symbols with legends on the other. From the finish and neat appearance of these coins, we learn that coinage reached the final and perfect stage. Some of these found at Ujjain show on one side "the cross and balls" and hence they are called Ujjain symbols. Some of the coins of Andhra kings found at Amarāvati, the ancient capital of the Andhras on R. Kishna, contain these Ujjain or Malwa symbols. Most of the Andhra coins discovered are made of lead with Brahmi legends on both sides and having devices of lions, elephants, chaitya, etc., on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol (cross and balls) on the reverse.

#### Nature of the Coins.

The coins vary in size. They are mostly round but still a few square pieces which are really older in age are found. Again, most of the coins discovered bear legends on both sides and these are later in time than those bearing devices on one side only.

The coins of three dots or convexities rudely representing an elephant, are cast in moulds and the joints of the moulds can still be seen. These are older than the coins which bear maneless lions on one side and Buddhist symbols on the other. These really seem to belong to the later Andhra kings of 2nd century A. D. viz. Yājña śrī, Chanda śrī and Puṣumāvi.

From the different sizes of the coins and the metals used, their value can be guessed. The unit is the smallest lead coin exhibited. III-1 It weighs nearly 18 grains. The weight of the coins exhibited varies from 18 to 148 grains.

#### Detailed Study of a few Coins.

The coins, cast in moulds, with 3 convexities rudely representing an elephant, contain on the obverse, a legend-i.e. the name of the later Andhra king Sri Vāsi and on the reverse, the Ujjain symbol. These weigh 40 to 60 grains. They are made up mostly of lead with a little copper coating. They are found in one group at Nagalapalli in Gudrahara-vishaya, the modern Gudivada which was probably the seat of Andhra Viceroyalty and a good religious and commercial centre in ancient times.

The Chaitya coin (See I, D) is one of pure lead. The Chaitya or Buddhist symbol is found to consist of 3 rows of inverted circles surmounted by moon. There is a tree to the right which is an emblem of worship for Jains and Buddhists. At the foot of it, there is a wavy line suggesting a serpent, or *Naga*.

On the reverse, we find the Buddhist cross and balls with dots inside and this is the Ujjain symbol. The legend is probably the name of

Gautami-putra Vilivayakura or Sri Yajña. The weight of the coin is only 100 grains.

The coins bearing on the obverse the lion facing to the left, with a legend and on the reverse the Ujjain symbol (See IV m, n, p,) are probably the lead coins of Rano Gotama putasa Siri Yaña Śātakanasa.

#### Value of the Study of Andhra Coins.

The only dynasty that used lead coinage is the Andhra dynasty. This fact is to be explained in this manner. In the Palnad Taluq, lead mines were worked out and the lead with a little mixture of copper (added probably to make the coin stiff and durable) was used. The lead coins which are of various sizes and weights were intended for use in the Eastern districts in particular. It is here that large hoards have been found out. In the Western Provinces, silver coins and copper coins were used.

Firstly, from the large quantities discovered and different metals used, we have to conclude that trade was brisk. Gold coins called Suvarṇas discovered at Amravati and Dharanikota testify to the wealth of the Empire.

Secondly, since the coins are found in the lands extending from Malwa in the North-West to Magadha in the North-East and Chitaldurg in the South-West to Negapatam in the South-East, we have to conclude that the Andhras ruled over all those parts.

Thirdly, since some of the coins of Yajña Śri and other Andhra kings bear *ships with masts*, may we not conclude that the Andhras were not only a great land power in the whole of India but also a great sea power! Andhra trade and colonisation extended to the Eastern Archipelago and Cylon on the one hand and Egypt and the Mediterranean on the other.

Fourthly, the Buddhist devices on the coins clearly show that the Andhra Kings were great patrons of Buddhism. The Amarāvati Stūpa is one more conclusive proof which confirms the Numismatic evidence.

Fifthly, coin legends illustrate broadly the main changes through which the forms of *Brahmi lipi* passed during that period. The dated coins of W. Satraps, as pointed out by Professor Rapson, reveal the changes in *lipi* from time to time. It would appear that *Devanagari* was modified into *Brahmi* and *Brahmi* into *Vegilipi*. It would also appear that Prakrit was the official language which existed side by side with Sanskrit in the Deccan in the early centuries of Christian Era.

Sixthly, the evidence supplied by coins not only confirms the Puranic list of the Andhra kings but supplies chronological data.

With regard to the 44 coins collected by me of which 20 only are described here, all the coins are made of lead, and they are coated by time with oxidised matter. When washed with weak Nitric acid, the devices

became clear. *How are these devices impressed?* It is stated by Dr. Thomas and it appears to be so that the *large coins were cast*. Some would seem to have received a *super-struck impression*.

*The smaller coins* which are of copper and which possess the same devices and legends as the lead ones, would seem to have been *struck*. They are of 2 dies bearing more distinct devices. Probably, hot lead was poured into a hole of stone or wood and then impressed with a single die.

Clear cut models do not seem to have been used for, then, the devices on all coins would have been in the centre of the coins. But on several coins the devices are appearing some in full, some in part, some in the centre and some near the edge. Moreover, the rims of the coins are not circular but irregular, in shape. Also, all coins of the same denomination do not look uniform but some are thin and some are bulging out. Again, in most cases, the obverse and the reverse sides of the coins also do not appear uniform or complete. Obviously, the die used for both was bigger than the coins and hence the devices do not all completely appear on the coins.

The lion and horse coins have their reverse sides plain, and uninscribed. But in some cases, faint devices are still to be seen. On the obverse side, on most coins, the devices are bulging out but on some, they are sunken while the rims are bulging out, owing probably to their being struck hard.

Thus, there was recourse to 2 kinds of minting:—

1. To cast coins by pouring molten lead on a deviced surface and applying the impression.
2. To place cold metal on a flat die and strike it with a device.

All rim-bulging coins are of first sort. The reverse side shows no bulging rim. The Ujjain symbol is usually found on reverse. This symbol is always found in raised lines and is used in several designs and sizes. Usually, only a part of it is seen on the coins. That is because the die used for reverse is larger than the coin unlike the die used for obverse. One coin shows on the reverse side, parts of 2 symbols which are evidently joint. This is because the die is a large one with more than one series of 4 circles joined together by cross lines. Two coins show small symbols being impressed on large coins. In some cases, the symbol is of the same size as the coin.



## Description of the Coins.

(Vide Plates)

## PLATE A, I-a.

Lead coin discovered at Amarāvati; weight 18 grains.

*Obverse*—Figure of a ship (*Dōni*) with mast is seen and at top of mast, inscription in *Brahmīlīpi*. Coin probably belongs to *Sri Puṣumāvi* or *Yajña Sri*, whose ship coins are known to have been discovered along the coromandel coast.

*Reverse*—Part of Ujjain symbol.

## PLATE A, I-b.

Potin. Found at Gudivāda. Weight 48 grains.

*Obverse*—Elephant represented by 3 convexities with trunk raised facing to the right and carrying a rider. Probably belongs to *Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi* as the types and fabrics are pointing out to his coins. No inscription.

*Reverse*—Part of Ujjain symbol. The coin is peculiar as it shows the joint protruding at the top of the coin.

## PLATE A, I-c.

Found at Gudivāda, Kistna District. Lead coin. Weight 42 grains.

*Obverse*—Elephant represented as on III. I, J, k, l; V-q, s; and I, b. Inscription at top. Probably belongs to *Śrī ya ṇa* or *Śrī vā si*.

*Reverse*—Part of Ujjain symbol.

## PLATE A, I-D.

A big coin of Gautamīputra *Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi* (184 A.D.) Found at Amarāvati in Guntur District. Lead coin weighing 64 grains.

*Obverse*—Chaitya of six arches surmounted by crescent and Svastika. To the right of Chaitya, a tree within railing and underneath Chaitya, a waved line; along the fringe, probably an inscription of *Raño Gotamīputasa Sīri-Yaṇa-Śātakanisa*.

*Reverse*—Ujjain symbol, (cross and four balls) having each orb represented by a pellet surrounded by one circle.

## PLATE A, II-e.

Lead coin found at Amaravati, Guntur District.

*Obverse*—Lion standing facing right with head erect and tail turned upwards into a curve. Resembles in type, II-F, g, V r. No inscription. This coin, according to Elliot, belongs to Gautamīputra *Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi*.

*Reverse*—Plain. These *lion* coins with no symbol on the reverse are considered to belong to the early Andhra kings.

## PLATE A, II-F.

Found at Amarāvati along with II e, g, and V r. Lead coin weighing 53 grains.

*Obverse*—Lion with mane, standing with head erect and tail turned upwards into a curve. At the top, inscription in *Brahmi Lipti*.—probably of *Siriyaṇa*.

*Reverse*—Plain.

PLATE A, II-g.

Coin of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi. Found at Amarāvati. Lead coin weighing 148 grains. Biggest and heaviest in the list. *Obverse*—Lion standing with tail turned upwards.

*Reverse*—Plain with a few dots.

PLATE II-H. •

Lead coin, small in size. Same as IV m, n, p; V t. Weight 34 grains.

*Obverse*—Figure of lion is beautifully struck. The animal is standing and facing right with tail turned up on the back. No inscription is visible.

*Reverse*—Part of Ujjain symbol is visible.

PLATE A, III-I.

Potin. Weight 57 grains. Found at Guḍivāḍa in Kistna District.

*Obverse*—Elephant with raised head and trunk. No inscription but it belongs to *Siri Vāsi* like III-j which closes resembles it in type, weight, composition and find-spot.

*Reverse*—Parts of two Ujjain symbols not fully or clearly impressed.

PLATE A, III-j.

Found at Guḍivāḍa, Kistna District. Potin (lead and copper) weight 58 grains.

*Obverse*—Elephant with raised head and trunk containing at the top in four Brahmi characters *Śi ri vā si*, the name of the king *Sri Vāsistīputra Puṣumāvi*, the 24th Andhra king who ruled about the middle of 2nd century A.D.

*Reverse*—Parts of two Ujjain symbols with 2 balls in the middle.

PLATE A, III-k.

Potin coin, found at Guḍivāḍa, Kistna District. Weight 33 grains.

*Obverse*—Elephant standing with a rider on the back. Coin resembles III-I, j l; I b, c. No inscription is found.

*Reverse*—Part of Ujjain symbol with two balls clearly seen.

• PLATE A, III-l.

Potin coin weighing 30 grains. Discovered at Guḍivāḍa, Kistna District along with 6 others.

*Obverse*—Elephant standing facing right. Inscription at the top of the coin belongs to the king *Sri Vāsisthīputra Puṣumāvi*.

*Reverse*—Part of the Ujjain symbol, showing two balls only.

• PLATE A, IV-m.

Found at Amarāvati. Lead coin quoted with copper solution; weight 32 grains.

*Obverse*—Figure of standing lion facing left. Underneath a line with dots. Inscription at top.

*Reverse*—Ujjain symbol.

PLATE A, IV-n.

Same as IV-m, in all respects, except that it weighs 4 grains more.

PLATE A, IV-o.

Coin of Gautami-putra Śrī Yajña (Rudra!) Śatakarni. About 184 A.D.

Found at Amarāvati. Potin, made of lead, copper etc.

Weight 82 grains.

*Obverse*—Elephant standing facing right, under a tree. Inscription at top in *Brahmilipi*.

*Reverse*—Ujjain symbol, each orb of which is represented by a pellet with one surrounding circle.

PLATE A, IV-p.

Found at Amarāvati. Lead with copper coating. Weight 40 grains.

*Obverse*—Lion standing facing left with tail turned upwards on the back. Behind the animal, tree, and under it a line with dots.

*Reverse*—Part of Ujjain symbol.

PLATES A, V-q.

Potin. Weight 40 grains. Found at Guḍivāḍa, along with I, b, c; III, I, j, k; V, s.

*Obverse*—Elephant standing with a mahout or driver sitting on neck, Brahmi Inscription at the top probably same as III, j. The coin like the other coins belongs to Śrī Vāsisthīputra Puṣumavi, 24th Andhra king.

*Reverse*—Part of an Ujjain symbol, cross and balls of which are visible.

PLATE A, V-r.

*Obverse*—Lead coin of big lion standing and facing right, weighing 42 grains.

*Reverse*—Plain.

PLATE A, V-s.

Potin coin. Weight 28 grains. Found at Guḍivāḍa in Kistna District, along with 6 other coins, all of the same type and probably belonging to the same king, Śrī Vāsi.

*Obverse*—Elephant standing facing right carrying a driver on the back. No legend or inscription is visible.

*Reverse*—Part of Ujjain symbol two circles of which are clearly seen.

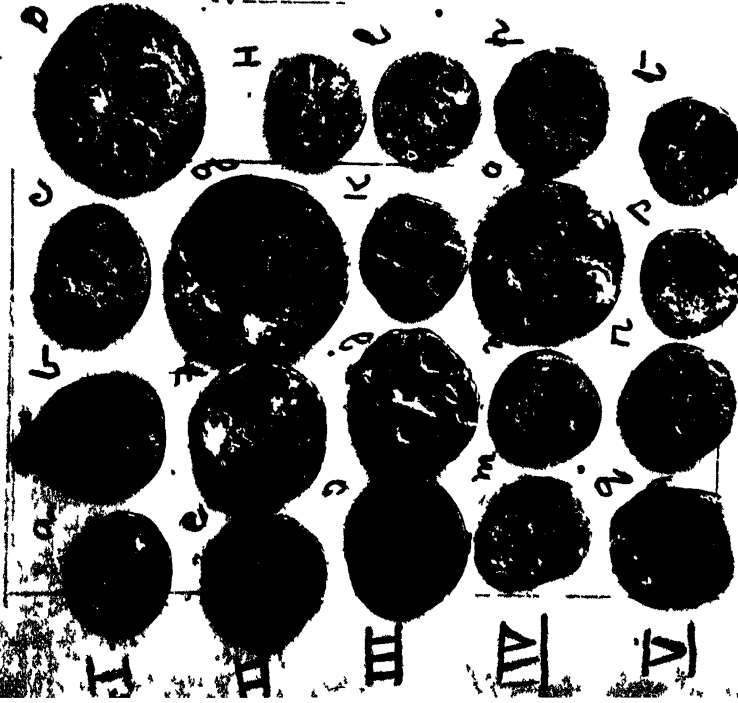
PLATE A, V-t.

Found at Amarāvati. Potin. (Mixture of lead and copper.) Weight 28 grains.

*Obverse*—Lion standing and facing left with tail turned up on the back. To the right tree. A line with dots under the animal. No inscription but it probably belongs to Śrī Yajña Śatakarni.

*Reverse*—2 pillars.

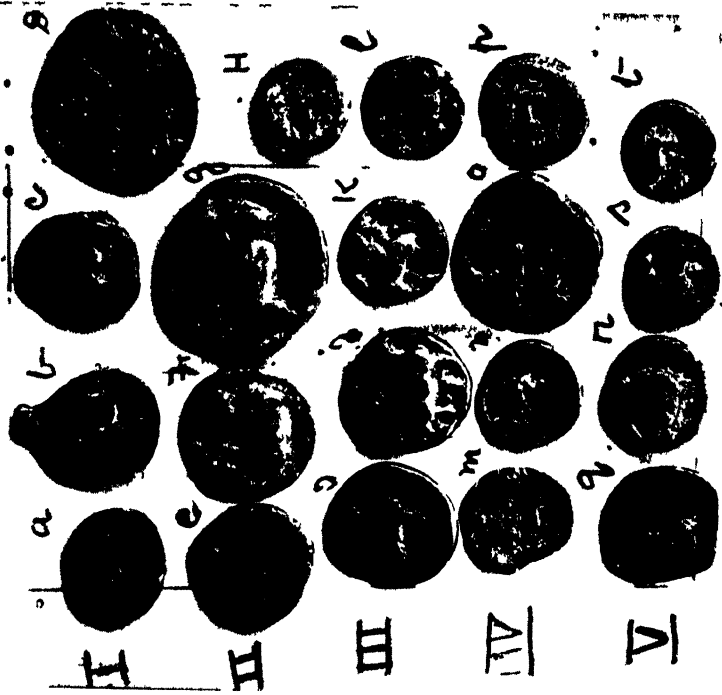
reverse.



Andhra Lead Coins.

Collected by R. S. R.

reverse.



Andhra Lead Coins.

Collected by R. S. R.



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